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President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 10 a.m.

Agenda item 166 (*continued*)

Measures to eliminate international terrorism

Report of the Secretary-General (A/56/160 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Mr. Clodumar (Nauru): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the members of the Pacific Islands Forum group of countries that are members of the United Nations and that maintain Permanent Missions in New York: Australia, Fiji, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and my own country, Nauru.

The members of the Pacific Islands Forum group join the rest of the world in expressing shock and outrage at the tragic events of 11 September in this our host city of New York, in Washington, D.C., and in Pennsylvania. We wish to convey the sorrow and the thoughts of our peoples to the Government and the people of the United States, through the Permanent Representative of the United States of America. We also wish to express our admiration for the way in which the people of this city in particular have responded, and for the spirit that the people of the United States of America are demonstrating at this difficult time.

It is now clear that no part of the world is immune to terrorist activities. Terrorist organizations are active in many parts of the world, and unfortunately it would be unrealistic to assume that the Pacific will continue to be free of this scourge. Even if terrorists are not active in our territory, these acts of terrorism have consequences for us all. Nationals from a number of our member countries were victims of the attacks. Nationals from our countries reside in the United States and in other countries where terrorist attacks have occurred, and may occur again.

There are also other, perhaps less immediate, effects. For instance, the inevitable impact of these events on global air transportation may have significant consequences for the Pacific, a region in which safe and regular air transport is critical. In this interconnected world, we are all affected.

The leaders of the Pacific Islands Forum, in their joint declaration issued on 26 September, recognized the 11 September attacks as not only against the United States of America, but against humanity and common decency. The leaders recalled their 1998 decision collectively condemning international terrorism and reaffirming their support for international cooperation aimed at its eradication, and expressed their commitment to do everything in their power to assist in bringing those responsible for the heinous act and all other acts of international terrorism to justice.

Furthermore, the Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Mr. Noel Levi, in his statement of 12 September, said,

> "This is an attack on ... the community of nations."

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As such, it requires a strong response from the community of nations.

The attacks undermine the very basis of this Organization, and this Organization must rise above itself to meet the challenge. All countries must join in efforts to combat terrorism, and the Pacific Islands Forum group is committed to doing what needs to be done. Although most of us do not have the economic or military capability to contribute to the fight against terrorism, we can and will provide the moral and political support pledged by our leaders.

The Group welcomes Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), adopted on 28 September, calling on Member States, among other things, to cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts. The Security Council acted under Chapter VII of the Charter, thereby obligating Member States to heed the action it has prescribed to meet the objectives against terrorism.

In this regard, members of the Group will take the necessary actions to suppress the financing of terrorism, including the freezing of funds and other assets of individuals, groups and States involved in or supporting terrorism; assist in criminal investigations and information exchange about such individuals or groups; and restrict the international movement of such individuals or groups within international norms and the rule of law.

We acknowledge that these actions will require changes to legislation in some cases. Effective implementation will also require enhanced regional cooperation and greater flows of information from outside the region.

Existing Pacific regional initiatives will also assist in the fight against terrorism. Regional efforts to assist States to strengthen the regulation of money flows will be relevant to efforts to combat the financing of terrorism. Regional efforts and programmes to control flows of small arms into and within the region will also help improve regional security and counter terrorism.

To these ends, there is an urgent need to recognize the importance of supporting existing regional initiatives. In our own region, for example, there is a real need for assistance to facilitate the carrying out of regional security measures initiated by the leaders of the Pacific Islands Forum, particularly in the areas of security personnel training, legislation to combat financing for terrorism and the dissemination of relevant information on terrorist groups and their activities.

We therefore welcome the offers made by some States during this debate to assist other States to participate fully in international efforts to combat terrorism, and look forward to such support for the strengthening of regional initiatives.

Members of the Pacific Island Forum group are also looking at ways to increase their participation in the existing framework of international instruments combating terrorism. The group will also join other States in working towards the adoption of a comprehensive convention against terrorism that builds upon and strengthens that framework later in this General Assembly session.

In closing, the members of the Pacific Island Forum group are committed to joining with other countries in taking all possible measures to eliminate terrorism. There has been a challenge to this Organization and to the international community, but we believe that through a strong and united response, this Organization and the international community will emerge stronger.

Mr. Jokonya (Zimbabwe): Allow me to associate my delegation with those who have spoken before us in expressing our deep sense of shock and horror at the ghastly attacks against the Government of the United States, its people and all the peace-loving people of the world, by quoting from President Mugabe's condolence message to President George Bush:

> "My Government, the people of Zimbabwe, and I personally share the shock, anger and anguish of your Government, the citizens of the United States (at home and abroad), the families of the injured and the deceased and your own anguish and heavy sense of responsibility. Mr. President, as you contemplate what needs to be done, we are with you."

Let me underscore that perhaps the most frightening aspect of the 11 September terrorist acts is that terrorists can strike at any time and anywhere. Among the victims of the World Trade Center attacks

were Zimbabwean citizens who were peacefully pursuing their American dream.

As the world mourns with friends and relatives, I urge this body to accept that this is not a tragedy for America alone but one for the whole international community. The 11 September attacks show that terrorism leads to the death and injury of innocent civilians and bystanders totally uninvolved in terrorist causes. Terrorism has afflicted the world for long enough, and it is our considered view that our deliberations today should be action-oriented. How do we fight terrorism?

Terrorist acts are criminal, whatever the motives of the terrorist or the cause served. Terrorism is defined by actions, not by the cause it is intended to serve, if there is any cause at all. Killing innocent civilians and hijacking planes are all terrorist acts, even though those responsible may claim that they work towards some kind of objective. This is the clear intention of the unanimous General Assembly resolution 40/61 of 1985, which condemns as criminal "all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whomever committed".

The condemnation of international terrorism as criminal must be understood as imposing obligations on all States to take appropriate measures to prevent acts of international terrorism. This includes the duty to refrain from aiding, supporting or acquiescing in terrorist activities. For a State to allow a terrorist base within its territory would be incompatible with these obligations. The failure to apprehend persons who have carried out terrorist acts in other countries or aided and abetted such acts is likewise a violation of international obligations.

Whatever programme of action emerges from today's deliberations, it must be underscored that the relationship between international politics and foreign affairs, on one hand, and international law, on the other, is often somewhat ambiguous with respect to the problem of terrorism. There is no commonly accepted legal definition of terrorism, just as there is no commonly accepted political definition. However, as Professor Robert Friedlander has said:

> "Even though there is no acceptable legal definition, there need not be if one deals with terrorism as a criminal act. Whatever the means and however employed, acts of terror-violence are common crimes in every civilized society on this earth. Therefore, an exact legal definition is not necessary, if one merely deals with the elements of the actus reus in question: murder, serious bodily harm, reckless endangerment, intentional infliction or severe mental distress."

The judgement by Friedlander reflects the usual impatience of the legal mind with what is essentially a political and diplomatic process. In this regard, we should seek guidance from the United Nations, which has long been a forum for efforts to deal with terrorism.

It is a given that whether terrorism is domestic or international in character, affected Governments must, of course, act. All Government action to deal with terrorism falls into four categories; prevention; protection; crisis or incident management; and punishment. These four tasks must be implemented in the international as well as the domestic arena.

There is a fundamental difference, however, between accomplishing these tasks domestically and accomplishing them internationally. At home, every Government is the sovereign authority and has at its disposal of the police and political authority of the State. Internationally, each Government has distinctly limited authority and must approach the problem in cooperation with fellow Governments.

In dealing with terrorism, each Government decides how much it wishes to work with other Governments. Such cooperation can take many forms. For instance, it could take the form of information exchange between police and intelligence services, joint planning to deal with terrorist attacks, actual cooperation in an incident, or cooperation in the pursuit of terrorists.

My delegation takes note of resolution 1373 (2001), which the Security Council adopted on 28 September 2001, and will support efforts at suppressing the financing of terrorism. Zimbabwe is ready to cooperate in the fight against international terrorism, and looks forward to positively considering all requests coming within the context of the United Nations.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reiterate that international terrorism is an offence against the peace and security of mankind. In 1970 the General Assembly emphasized that

> "Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State" (*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex, para. 1*)

and that

> "Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State." (ibid.)

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I would like to convey to you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I assure you of the full cooperation of my delegation for the successful accomplishment of your difficult task.

At its twenty-seventh session, in 1972, 29 years ago, the General Assembly decided to include on its agenda an item on measures to eliminate terrorism. Since then, this item has been considered annually in the Assembly's legal Committee. Unfortunately, we have seen acts of terrorism continue, killing innocent people and targeting the very structures of society. The foundations of democracy have been shaken. What is the status of human rights in all of this? They have been annihilated.

The General Assembly's decision to consider the issue of terrorism in plenary meeting stems from a heightened awareness of the seriousness and magnitude of this evil. Since that black Tuesday, 11 September 2001, the crime of terrorism is no longer simply a phenomenon of wanton violence. Unfortunately, the world now faces a widespread danger, and a very serious threat. Terrorism has taken hold of the collective imagination and is sowing fear. Never before has an act of criminal madness so shaken the universal human conscience as the attacks perpetrated on that day on American soil.

Those still alive who planned or were complicit in that bloody and destructive act of terror inflicted on thousands of innocent people must answer for their acts. Of course, it was the territory of the United States that was targeted; but the scope of their action is without doubt global in nature. Each and every one of us must pause to remember the victims in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania. I wish to recall here the message sent to President Bush on this sad occasion by the President of the Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Paul Biya:

> "Mr. President, Cameroon has been following with dismay the dreadful tragedy your country is experiencing on this day. On the occasion of this difficult ordeal for yourself, for the United States and for the American people, I would like to convey to you, on behalf of the people and the Government of Cameroon, and on my own behalf, our most heartfelt sympathy. To the bereaved families that were so cruelly stricken, I extend my saddest condolences and the deep compassion of the entire people of Cameroon."

The entire world shares the deep sorrow of the American people and of the bereaved families, who, like Rachel in the Bible, will forever mourn their children who once were and are no more. The entire world shares this shock. We must all act together so that the planners of and accomplices to the attacks do not go unpunished. Of course, we must give due place to reason and reflection and to the rule of law and the rights that guarantee and protect the great basic values defended by the United Nations and by democracies. Reason dictates avoiding any action that, by its consequences and scope, may be akin to a collective reprisal affecting innocent peoples and communities.

After this tragedy no State or authority can deny that terrorism is a threat to international peace and security. It is for that reason that mobilizing to prevent and fight terrorism involves the entire international community. In that regard, I would like to welcome the adoption of various conventions on terrorism by the General Assembly and regional organizations. The latest of those deals with suppressing the financing of terrorism.

The recent events should induce States to sign and ratify those instruments, along with the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Even though they are sectoral, those conventions, once they enter into force, will mark tangible progress in our quest for effective legal weaponry in our cooperative struggle against terrorism. To supplement those instruments, a comprehensive convention against international terrorism is needed.

The tragedy that struck the peoples of the United Nations on 11 September gives us the duty to rise above differences relating to definitions and succeed, at

this session, in the negotiations on a draft convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and on a comprehensive convention against this scourge. Here, Cameroon repeats the proposal of the Non-Aligned Movement to convene a high-level conference, under United Nations auspices, to define a common international community response to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. That proposal is more necessary than ever.

Because of its membership and its powers, the United Nations is the ideal framework to pull together the various elements of an effective collective international community response to terrorism. Cameroon endorses and supports in every respect Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) of 12 September and 1373 (2001) of 28 September. In that connection, we are committed to continued and intensified exchanges of information on the movements of suspicious individuals. Cameroon is already a party to a number of anti-terrorism conventions, and it will pursue its policy of signing various relevant instruments. Cameroon is, further, committed to cooperating with the Security Council in the context of the machinery to follow up the implementation of Council resolution 1373 (2001).

In November 2002, Cameroon will host the seventy-first General Assembly of the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL). We shall ensure that special attention is devoted to strengthening overall cooperation and police and law enforcement cooperation to fight terrorism and organized crime.

Cameroon believes that, if we are to succeed in our implacable combat against terrorism, we must strengthen national structures and national capacity. Because of terrorism's complex modus operandi, we need greater assistance from developed countries and from the international community, especially in the areas of technology, training and information; investigative teams must be trained to combat this worldwide scourge. Only such assistance, which is sorely needed, will enable developing countries to carry out viable anti-terrorist policies. The fight also requires a genuine and unequivocal commitment from all States to refrain from complacency or active or passive complicity with respect to terrorists or those who would be terrorists. No State should for any reason harbour terrorists; no State or community should offer facilities, or training camps or facilities to those who intend to assault the integrity of States or individuals.

To succeed in our fight against terrorism, each and every one of us must understand the need to promote a culture of tolerance and democracy. To succeed in our fight against terrorism, we must avoid sowing seeds of division or weakness within our ranks. That is why we must disavow and denounce the pseudo-intellectuals who seek to use the sad events of 11 September to prove the highly dubious theory of the clash of civilizations. Such ideas are more an apologia for hatred than intellectually credible and valid reasoning.

No one people has a monopoly on terrorism; terrorism is worldwide. In all cultures, there have always been terrorists or anarchists who are prepared — even impatient and eager — to engage in killing and self-immolation. Therefore, combating terrorism also means rejecting the notion that terrorism is specific to any particular religious community or in any one people. Combating terrorism means rejecting duality between civilizations. The only valid rule is respect for the values and beliefs of each and every people. Human dignity and human belief cannot be measured or defined in terms of wealth or poverty, but only in terms of a universal moral imperative.

By causing the death of some 6,000 men and women, those responsible for the 11 September 2001 attacks rejected the sanctity of life. By violating respect for life, they violated not only one of the universal principles of human rights but also, and above all, one of the major divine messages of Islam, a religion that advocates love and peace.

During the Millennium Summit, we committed ourselves to freeing people from all fear. So why should we not declare the month of September, every year, a month to combat terrorism in all its forms? That would express and maintain our common determination to ensure that we never again witness what we experienced on 11 September 2001.

Mr. Lelong (Haiti) (*spoke in French*): The Haitian delegation wishes to associate itself with preceding speakers to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. We wish you every success this year — a year that promises to be a turbulent one — and we assure you of our full cooperation.

The Haitian delegation wishes also to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri, for the talent and skill he displayed during his tenure. The Haitian delegation would also convey to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, its sincere best wishes and its appreciation for the outstanding work he has done to preserve peace and promote development. He has shown intelligence and wisdom at a time when the world is confronting many challenges.

The Haitian delegation certainly cannot fail to reiterate, on behalf of the Haitian Government, its sincerest condolences to the Government and the people of the United States, as well as to the bereaved families and friends of the victims. I should like to assure them that we share their grief at many levels, since the barbaric attacks of the morning of 11 September against this country claimed the lives of nationals of many countries, including Haiti.

The Haitian delegation associates itself with the statement made by the representative of Dominica on behalf of the 14 members of the Caribbean Community. We do, however, wish to make a few comments on the item under consideration.

Because of the tragedy of 11 September, the Assembly is meeting to reflect together on how to coordinate an effective and collective response to international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, as terrorism poses a genuine threat and a challenge to all of humankind.

All of us witnessed the tragedy, which is already being seen as a turning point in our history — a time when our hearts, wounded by the psychological impact of this heinous act, prompt us to rally together in order collectively to confront this scourge. I wish to reaffirm that my country condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever it is perpetrated and by whomever, and regardless of the identity of its victims or of its masterminds. These inhuman acts undermine the very basis of the democratic system by jeopardizing international peace and security, freedom, human rights and the search for well-being and prosperity.

In this regard, the Haitian delegation is pleased at the speed and the unequivocal way in which the General Assembly and the Security Council expressed their outrage and their profound condemnation.

The Haitian delegation deems it important to support the people of the United States in its quest for justice through a measured and timely response, thereby emphasizing to the identified perpetrators and accomplices that such acts have consequences. We believe it important that justice be done and that we not yield to the easy temptation of Babylonian vengeance, which could give rise to an uncontrollable spiral of violence. While there is an enormous — and understandable — temptation to respond brutally to barbarity, this would also pose the danger of making us, in a way, the allies of terrorists, since our responses could further fuel their fundamentalism.

Let us recall together what Benjamin Franklin told his compatriots more than two centuries ago:

> "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." *(Historical Review of Pennsylvania, 1759)*

Hatred must not be on the agenda, nor can fear be a convenient justification. Let it be clear: we are not witnessing a clash between civilizations, but, rather, a battle for civilization and for our shared humanity.

The international community already has 10 conventions, complemented by two protocols, that deal with terrorism in all its aspects. and two additional initiatives are being considered. These international legal instruments should be strengthened. It is in the interest of all States to comply with international legality, not to oppose it in the name of a kind of sovereignty that is often denied the weakest. Along these lines, an effort must be made to arrive at the ratification and the effective implementation of the principal international legal instruments.

Likewise, for some time now we have been witnessing the rise of armed groups, which may be small numerically but are terrifying in view of their destructive capacity. They are a monstrous expression of an uncivil society and steadily are forming an international network. We must denounce these disturbed fundamentalists who are in our midst and strip them of the protection afforded them by alleged sovereignty.

In conclusion, the Haitian delegation does not wish to downplay the importance of international legal instruments, which certainly are essential in combating terrorism and in avoiding any recurrence of such tragedies. The present objective — the major objective — of the international community remains

the effective struggle against terrorism. Nonetheless, it is also of great importance that we reflect together on the social, political, economic and other factors that engender terrorism. In this battle without quarter — a battle in which there can be no concessions to this evil — the international community must also identify its roots and address them. The statistics of injustice abound. We know them all, but we tend to respond with indifference. The international community must, under the auspices of the United Nations and in a spirit of tolerance and solidarity, form a major coalition against poverty, ignorance, misery, hunger, social exclusion, marginalization — a task that is now more urgent than ever.

Mr. Mmualefe (Botswana): On behalf of the delegation of Botswana, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your well-deserved unanimous election to the presidency of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We have full confidence that you will be able to guide the work of this rather extraordinary session to a successful conclusion.

Through you, Mr. President, we would like also to convey our unqualified appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Harri Holkeri of Finland. for the exemplary and diligent manner in which he presided over the work of the fifty-fifth session.

The heinous acts of terrorism of 11 September, which resulted in a massive loss of civilian life and in the total transformation of the landscape of our great host city, New York, and the similar attacks on Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania, were a tremendous shock to all of us.

President Festus Mogae of Botswana joined the leaders of all other peace-loving nations in condemning in the strongest terms the barbaric and cowardly acts of terrorism visited upon the people of the United States of America and conveyed, on behalf of the Government and people of Botswana, our heartfelt condolences to the victims and their families, to President Bush and to the Government and people of the United States.

This body has long appreciated the enormous threat of terrorism and the fight against terrorism has long been at the forefront of our efforts to make our global village more habitable. Our collective history bears with it a regrettable trail of tragic and vile acts of terrorism, many of them aimed at undermining the tranquillity and peace that our community of nations has been tirelessly working to attain. No single attack can stand above any other with regard to national impact, each nation logically mourning the loss of friends and countrymen and experiencing a heightened sense of insecurity. What separates this act from others, however, is its visibility, its unprecedented magnitude of lives lost, its meticulous conception and execution and its confounding simplicity, penetrating arguably the most secure defensive and intelligence capability the world has ever known. We have all been given a jolting wake-up call. We are all on heightened security alert.

Therefore, the decision taken by the General Assembly to discuss in the plenary the broader aspects of the persistent and abominable scourge of terrorism could not have been more timely, and it is a good gesture of our collective resolve to adequately address all aspects of this problem. We therefore welcome the opportunity to be able to take part in the discussions on this important question.

Through its Legal Committee and Third Committee, the General Assembly has adopted a series of annual resolutions addressing legal and human rights aspects of the question of terrorism. The Security Council has also long been actively seized with this issue, insofar as it constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Together with such entities as the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Maritime Organization, amongst others, the international community has over time formulated a global cross-sectoral response to the scourge of terrorism by developing an array of antiterrorism legal instruments and by laying down provisions addressing a number of terrorist activities, ranging from the seizure of aircraft to hostage-taking and the financing of terrorism.

Furthermore, every corner of the globe has also seen a proliferation of regional anti-terrorism conventions. In my own region, at a summit of the African leaders meeting in Algiers, Algeria, on 14 July 1999, the Organization of African Unity adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, underlining, amongst other things, Africa's awareness of the necessity

> "to promote human and moral values based on tolerance and rejection of all forms of terrorism irrespective of their motivation"

and obligating

> "States Parties to undertake to refrain from any acts aimed at organizing, supporting, financing, committing or inciting to commit terrorist acts, or providing havens for terrorists, directly or indirectly, including the provision of weapons and their stockpiling in their countries and the issuing of visas and travel documents."

Similar efforts have been made in other regions as well to conclude regional agreements and mutually agreed declarations.

At the national level, many of us have, to varying degrees, responded positively and made significant efforts to participate in the global response against terrorism. The realization that in this global village, all nations — big or small and regardless of any long-established tradition of internal political stability and democratic values based on tolerance for each other — are equally vulnerable to the scourge of terrorism has prompted us to take immediate action. Botswana is a party to a number of regional and international anti-terrorism instruments. Following the United Kingdom, Sri Lanka and Uzbekistan, Botswana became the fourth State party to the recent International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, adopted by this General Assembly only 22 months ago on 9 December 1999. As called for by this Assembly in paragraph 6 of its resolution 51/210 of 17 December 1996, we can only encourage all other nations not yet parties to this invaluable wealth of legal instruments to consider doing so as expeditiously as possible.

The Government of Botswana takes seriously its obligations towards the provisions of all these legal instruments and our level of participation in many of these instruments is testimony to our resolve to do all that is within our means to help international efforts to stamp out terrorism in all its aspects. Our message is very loud and clear. We will criminalize and punish any form of terror unjustifiably unleashed on any target within our borders on whatever motivation — political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, intolerance, extremist or other unacceptable pretext. Our judicial system will put into place measures designed to arrest, extradite or prosecute those suspected of committing acts of terrorism.

We will redouble our efforts and take resolute measures not to allow our territory to act as a safe haven for any terrorist activity and we are committed to exchanging such relevant information as required to assist collective efforts against the phenomenon of terrorism. We will also do all that is within our means to stifle funding for any terrorist activities.

Allow me to state the obvious. The triumphant battle against terrorism is far from over. These latest tragic events highlighted the magnitude and diverse forms of contemporary terrorism. There is as yet no known early warning system to effectively counter the phenomenon of terrorism. In this highly globalized world, we are all equally vulnerable.

As stated earlier, the international community has responded quite positively to this challenge, adopting a series of resolutions and decisions and enacting at least a dozen conventions and protocols on the matter. But the emerging threat of terrorism has shown us that a successful battle against this menace cannot be won on paper alone. We must, all of us, summon the necessary political will and muster the courage if we are to succeed in our efforts. Above all, the collective good of our community of nations must prevail over this phenomenon, regardless of our prevalent lack of terminology consensus and definition problems of what constitutes "terrorism". We should accept that the problem is real and affects us all. We cannot allow any form of differences to derail our meaningful collective efforts to address the problem.

As clearly outlined in the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, annexed to resolution 49/60, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1994, our determination to eliminate international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations requires us to make a conscious effort to honour our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant provisions of international humanitarian law, and to promote and implement, in all honesty and good faith, the letter and spirit of all the existing treaties relating to various aspects of the problem of international terrorism.

We must all cooperate in bringing to justice all those responsible for acts of terrorism. As recognized by this Assembly, our greatest strength and chance of success also lies in our desire to cooperate and to coordinate our activities in combating other crimes closely associated with terrorism. Many terrorist individuals and groups are known to profit and prosper through drug-trafficking, the unlawful arms trade and money-laundering, among other illegal activities. I can only echo the sentiments of the Executive Director of

the Vienna-based United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (ODCCP) that

> "Success in combating terrorism requires both strategic insights from research and international cooperation based on 'best practices' and 'lessons learned'."

To this end, the establishment by the General Assembly of the Vienna-based Terrorism Prevention Branch within the ODCCP, and of the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention, was a step in the right direction. These entities still require further strengthening.

Furthermore, we must not allow clandestine terrorist activities to exploit our hard won-technological innovations in order to terrorize and threaten our very existence.

For many of our nations, particularly developing countries, the emerging threat of international terrorism presents an additional challenge to the already precarious situation resulting from enormous problems on the social, political and economic fronts. The challenges presented by poverty, underdevelopment, conflict and political instability, and the scourge of life-threatening diseases like HIV/AIDS, place us in dire need of resources and technical assistance to help us upgrade our capacities to effectively participate in the global coalition against terrorism. There is no doubt that effective conflict-prevention strategies and successful efforts to fight international terrorism are inextricably intertwined. Conflict-ridden regions around the globe have proved to be easy breeding grounds and havens for terrorist activities. For us to win the battle against international terrorism, it is also imperative that we make resolute efforts to find durable solutions to the conflicts that are raging throughout the world.

I would like to conclude by reaffirming Botswana's unflinching resolve to cooperate with worldwide efforts to address the persistent phenomenon of international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We will continue to follow with keen interest the work of the Legal Committee on this matter and the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee established by General Assembly resolution 51/210 of 17 December 1996 in its efforts to elaborate a draft convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism, as well as other means of comprehensively addressing this problem.

I should also like to recall the collective position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that the emerging challenges presented by the phenomenon of international terrorism cannot be ignored and need to be addressed at the highest possible level. As called for in paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 55/158 of 12 December 2000, in this regard we would like to encourage the Ad Hoc Committee to seriously address the question of convening a high-level conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to formulate a joint, organized response by the international community to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

Mrs. Dobrāja (Latvia): The tragic events of 11 September shocked the people of Latvia, who greatly respect human rights, international law and the right to live without fear. On behalf of the Government of Latvia, I extend my country's condolences and sympathies to the Government of the United States and to the American people. We share the pain of the families of the victims of this brutal act of terrorism. Our Government declared 13 September a day of mourning.

We would also like to express our condolences to the State of Israel and the Russian Federation for the tragic accident that took place yesterday over the Black Sea.

The Latvian delegation aligns itself with the statement made by the Presidency of the European Union on agenda item 166, "Measures to eliminate international terrorism". We also welcome the initiative of the European Union to have this item debated in the plenary General Assembly.

The recent terrorist attacks were not only aimed against the people of America and the city of New York, which has been the home of the United Nations for more than 50 years. It was a strike against humanity and the universal values for which the United Nations stands. Like every other act of terrorism, this is a challenge to international society as a whole, as well as to each and every one of us. Therefore, we, as the United Nations, must act unanimously, deliberately and without delay so as to agree upon and implement measures to eliminate international terrorism.

Innocent people are reduced to objects in brutal terrorist acts. Terrorists do not discriminate among their victims. The victims of terrorists are the people all around us: children, men and women — people of

all nationalities and religions. No crime is too horrible for terrorists.

The primary task of the United Nations is to maintain peace and security. As we are convinced that terrorism is a prime threat to peace and security, we have to be united in our words and deeds so as to prevent and suppress terrorist acts. We are all aware that terrorism has no face, borders, nationality or religion. To succeed in combating terrorism, therefore, we must act on all levels: global, regional and national.

Latvia strongly welcomes and supports Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), setting out principles and measures to combat terrorism at all levels. Latvia is convinced that the full and unconditional implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) is imperative if we are to succeed in suppressing terrorism.The financing of terrorism has to be prevented and eliminated. Any action or inaction by States or individuals allowing the practice of terrorism has to be stopped. Cooperation and exchanges of information among States concerning terrorist activities have to be strengthened. Latvia welcomes the establishment of the Security Council Committee to monitor the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

Latvia is taking all the necessary measures to implement Council resolution 1373 (2001). First, a high-level Task Force chaired by the Prime Minister of Latvia has been created to coordinate national efforts against terrorism in the following areas: preventing financing of terrorism; enhancing information exchanges on terrorism; tightening border control; enhancing the control of strategic goods; and increasing crisis management capacity.

Secondly, Latvia is committed to accelerating the adoption and implementation of international conventions and protocols against terrorism.

Thirdly, we are coordinating our actions with our Estonian and Lithuanian friends.

National efforts have to be welded into a global framework. We urge all States to accede to the existing body of international law relating to the elimination of terrorism. Latvia fully supports accelerating the drafting and implementation of conventions on global terrorism and nuclear terrorism. We are convinced that this is a priority for the Sixth Committee and the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Also, my country fully supports the initiative to convene a high-level international event on combating terrorism within the framework of the United Nations.

The debate in the General Assembly this week has shown that no country is a mere observer in the fight against terrorism. No country is capable of individually suppressing terrorism; international cooperation, the commitment of the United Nations and the political will of all nations are required. To achieve sustainable results in annihilating terrorism, joint international action is mandatory. More than ever before, the international community must be united in its commitment. Latvia believes that the elimination of terrorism is within our reach. We will contribute resources to vindicating and sustaining democracy, the rule of law and justice.

Mr. Tekle (Eritrea): The Eritrean delegation is taking the floor for the first time during this session. Therefore, Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to extend congratulations to you on your election as President of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am certain that your remarkable experience and expertise will lead our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

On 11 September, Eritreans witnessed with horror, shock and disbelief, then in anger, and finally with grief, pain and anguish, the reprehensible act of terrorism that caused the sudden loss of several thousand innocent and unsuspecting human beings from about 60 countries going peacefully about their daily routines. I wish once again to extend our sincere condolences to the people and the Government of the United States, in whose country the crime was committed and who have suffered the greatest loss, as well as to those other countries whose citizens have lost their dear ones. Needless to say, Eritreans condemn this heinous crime in the strongest terms possible.

Eritrea, which has benefited from United States assistance and cooperation in its own struggle against terrorism since the early days of its independence, takes this opportunity to reiterate its solidarity with the people and the Government of the United States. It also reaffirms its firm commitment to participate in any effort that seeks to bring the perpetrators of this infamy to justice, to eradicate the scourge of terrorism and to ensure that similar crimes against humanity are never again committed.

Eritreans know from bitter experience that the international community has been plagued by, and has

had to endure, terrorism for quite a while. In fact, terrorism had already become an ominous threat to international peace, security and stability, as well as to socio-economic development, when Eritrea joined the international community as a sovereign State. Not long after, the young nation was to become one of the prime victims of terrorism. At that time, it realized that terrorism had no religion, race, ethnicity or nationality and that it only exploited them to achieve certain nefarious ends. It also realized that no country could be immune to terrorism.

During 1995 and 1996, in particular, a terrorist organization with a multinational membership had begun to terrorize Eritreans and visitors from abroad along one of our country's borders. Among its despicable crimes was the cold-blooded murder in 1996 of five Belgian tourists and the Eritreans who were with them. It was for this reason that Eritrea made the war against terrorism one of the cornerstones of its nascent foreign policy.

It soon became evident to the Government of the new State that, first of all, terrorism represented an intricate international web of actors who shared some ill-conceived and evil ideology anchored in hate and bigotry, preaching violence, and with abundant support from a multiplicity of financial sources; and, secondly, that it was essential to create, in addition to strong national programmes, viable regional and international mechanisms to effectively and credibly combat terrorism.

To this end, by 1994, barely a few months after it became a sovereign State, it had submitted to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) a plan related to the creation of a strong regional coalition to coordinate the fight against terrorism in the Horn of Africa. Additionally, it had submitted a detailed working paper which, incidentally, identified most of the terrorist organizations and leaders in the region, including Osama bin Laden, to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit held in Yaoundé in 1996, which recognized the threat and challenge posed to Africa by terrorism. Thirdly, it also made a great diplomatic effort in Europe and America, with a view to establishing a wider anti-terrorist coalition.

It is for these reasons that the Eritrean Government fully endorses the recent United Nations resolutions adopted to supplement and strengthen existing ones, particularly Security Council resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1368 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1. The new and unprecedented determination reflected in these resolutions to combat terrorism at the international, as well as at the regional and national levels, augurs well for the struggle against the scourge. However, Eritrea also fully recognizes that the adoption of resolutions and the signing of agreements is not enough and that, to be effective, they must be immediately complemented with coordinated and credible action to ensure implementation and compliance by all. The international community must therefore avail itself of this new momentum and determination to create an environment that will protect and promote our new unity of purpose and consolidate our collective will.

Eritrea is convinced that terrorism cannot be justified or legitimized for any reason or under any circumstances. It is as immoral as it is criminal. It violates basic human rights and human values. It is in fact a crime against humanity. It is an attack on human dignity. It is a justification of hatred, intolerance and violence. It spawns fear and insecurity and anarchy. As such, it must be condemned in all its forms and manifestations and without any reservations.

It is thus incumbent on the international community to act collectively and decisively to eliminate it. Yet, Eritrea realizes that the war against terrorism cannot be won in the immediate future. Thus, while the international community must, of course, act decisively and forcefully now, it must also prepare a long-term strategy envisaging a broad and sustained effort to ensure the complete eradication of terrorism.

Eritrea believes that any such international effort must be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations if only because it has the unique capacity to build a broad consensus and because it already provides a legal framework which may be improved to strengthen any future action that is to be taken.

Thus, even as we must urgently take the measures set forth in recent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), Eritrea also supports the adoption of a comprehensive convention on terrorism and expresses its thanks to India for the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism that it has submitted to the Sixth Committee.

In our view, the draft can serve as a good basis for discussion.

In conclusion, let me reiterate that the international community cannot afford to delay any action against terrorism. We owe it to future generations.

Mr. Li Hyong Chol (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): Terrorism in all its forms and manifestations constitutes a major force that poses constant instability and threats to all countries and peoples. It is, therefore, important, in ensuring world peace and security, that effective measures be taken to eliminate terrorism.

The large-scale terrorist incident that occurred in the United States on 11 September caught the international community by great surprise. It was also very regrettable and tragic. The incident reminds the international community once again of the gravity of terrorism and calls for deep thought about issues that need to be dealt with in eliminating terrorism.

Acts of terrorism result from various political motivations and purposes, and they are committed in an arbitrary and reckless manner. This necessarily requires that the leading role of the United Nations be further enhanced in addressing international issues, including the elimination of terrorism, and that all Member States value the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter and realize effective international cooperation on the basis of the Charter.

Since terrorism has emerged as a serious international problem, Member States will have to properly find the root cause of terrorism and consider ways and means to cope with it in an effective and practical manner. Member States will have to have a correct concept of what terrorism is and discharge their national obligations to eliminate it. At the same time, they must contribute, in a fair and unbiased way, to the efforts of the international community to eradicate the cause of terrorism.

The problem of terrorism should be resolved in conformity with the Charter and relevant international law. Mistrust and confrontation between countries and nations should be removed and the principles and ideals of the Charter should be adhered to.

Applying the label of terrorist to independent States that advocate sovereign equality in international relations, violating the sovereignty of such States and inflicting pain and suffering on their people through armed intervention, occupation, unilateral pressure and sanctions, all should be duly denounced, as this represents State terrorism.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea maintains, as ever, its consistent stance of opposing all forms of terrorism and support of any kind for it. We strongly denounce and reject all forms of terrorism, including its organization, assistance, instigation and acquiescence.

My delegation hopes that proper ways and means for eliminating all forms of terrorism will be worked out at this session.

Ms. Løj (Denmark): The Danish Government associates itself with the statement made on 1 October by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union.

Let me once again at this General Assembly session reiterate that Denmark most strongly condemns the forces behind the horrific acts of terrorism in the United States on 11 September 2001. We welcome the resolve of the Security Council to act swiftly and effectively in countering those criminal acts. The Danish Government and the people are fully committed to participating in this united international effort to ensure that those responsible for these attacks are brought to justice and punishment.

Terrorism is today the single most serious international threat to the peaceful functioning of our societies, exploiting, as it does, the basic values of the free world governed by democracy and the rule of law. International terrorism, as we all witnessed on 11 September, has taken on new dimensions.

Targeting innocent civilians and thus creating a state of fear or terror in the minds of the general public, is one of the most horrifying criminal acts and cannot be tolerated by the international community.

No cause can ever justify such cowardly and murderous acts. Terrorism undermines everything it claims to be fighting for. The underlying causes of terrorism must, of course, not be ignored, but must be properly addressed. Combating international terrorism cannot, however, await a solution to the underlying tensions.

Terrorism is a crime, whether committed in times of peace or during armed conflict. All appropriate

means must be pursued to bring the perpetrators to justice, here and now. The international community, in its own interest, should work together in this endeavour. Steps must be taken to eradicate terrorism. In this regard, the United Nations has a crucial role to play.

The Danish Government welcomes the immediate response by the United Nations to the terrorist attacks against the United States: Security Council resolution 1368 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1, both of 12 September. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), adopted on 28 September, constitutes timely and most appropriate guidance to Member States in their actual and future work in combating terrorism.

The Danish Government has, as an immediate follow-up to these United Nations resolutions, initiated a careful implementation process. That is being done in close cooperation with our partners in the European Union as well as by national initiatives. The initiatives required will, among other things, encompass legislation to prevent and roll up the financing of terrorism, changes to the Danish Criminal Code and the Aliens Act and implementation of extended provisions to extradite terrorists, as well as law initiatives to strengthen efforts against smuggling of human beings and money laundering. At the opening of the Danish Parliament on 2 October, the Prime Minister indicated that necessary legislation will be presented to Parliament within 60 days, and underlined the need for urgent action.

As reaffirmed by the European Council on 21 September, it is the belief of the European Heads of State and Government that the United Nations, with its unique and universal mandate, is a fundamental player in the fight against international terrorism and must act accordingly.

However, while focusing on the fight against terrorism, we must not forget other major challenges facing us: the eradication of poverty; protection of all human rights; democratization; and the promotion of good governance and the rule of law. All Governments, civil societies and the United Nations must work together. The United Nations can be instrumental in our effort. But renewed political will is necessary. Further resources need to be allocated. Domestic and international commitments must go hand in hand in order to have sufficient impact. In this respect, let me also mention the need of the many refugees in developing countries. The provision of humanitarian assistance is fundamental. This is closely linked to the prevention of conflicts and to establishing and maintaining international peace and security.

Denmark has ratified 11 out of 12 United Nations conventions dealing with the fight against various aspects of terrorism. On 25 September we signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Steps are being taken to ratify this Convention as soon as possible — hopefully, before the end of this year.

Among further steps to be taken by the United Nations in the fight against international terrorism is the early completion of a comprehensive convention. In this context, we should consider how we might effectively bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of international terrorism — for instance, by developing an international mechanism for the effective prosecution and punishment of those responsible. In any event, we must all work closely together to ensure that terrorists will not find safe haven anywhere in the world — in other words, that those participating in terrorist activities will be either prosecuted or extradited, wherever they set foot. There can be no concessions to terrorists or their sponsors.

I wish to pledge the support of Denmark in the struggle against international terrorism and in the search for solutions to its underlying causes.

Mr. Buallay (Bahrain) (*spoke in Arabic*): As my delegation is addressing the Assembly for the first time, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President. I am confident that your diplomatic skills will reflect positively on our deliberations. I cannot fail to express our appreciation to Minister Holkeri for his presidency of the General Assembly at its fifty-fifth session.

At the outset, I should like to express the condemnation by the Government and people of the State of Bahrain of the acts of terrorism perpetrated in the United States of America on 11 September 2001, which resulted in so many innocent victims. We condemn any act of terrorism, whoever perpetrates it and whatever the reasons and motivations, because terrorism and acts of terrorism are anathema to the teachings of our lofty religion. They run counter to the most fundamental values and human principles calling for the renunciation of all acts and forms of terrorism,

for establishing peace among peoples and for the protection of their rights.

Many efforts have been made to combat terrorism and eliminate it. Many initiatives have been taken in this framework by many international and governmental organs. Regional and international conventions have been drafted to combat terrorism. Many resolutions condemning terrorism anywhere and in all its forms have been adopted. In this regard, the General Assembly, by resolution 51/210, adopted on 17 December 1996, established the Ad Hoc Committee to draft a convention on suppressing acts of international terrorism. However, differences of opinion among members of the Committee prevented agreement on the text of a draft convention. It is noteworthy that Arab States were at the forefront in tabling initiatives for combating terrorism and in calling for the convening of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations to eliminate all forms of terrorism, whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or States.

How far international efforts succeed in addressing terrorism greatly depends on many issues, including the following points.

First, terrorism needs to be clearly defined, in a manner agreed by the international community, in order to ascertain the reasons and factors leading to terrorism and to the means to punish its perpetrators. In defining terrorism, we must draw attention to the need to differentiate between terrorism and the legitimate struggle against and resistance to occupation, as is the case for the Palestinian people struggling to liberate its usurped land and recover it from its occupier.

Occupying the land of others by force is among the most serious forms of terrorism. Such occupation is State terrorism, which has wider ranging and more pervasive consequences. The entire world must therefore condemn the acts perpetrated by Israel in terrorizing Palestinian land.

Such acts of terrorism are also reflected in the killing of innocent people — unarmed children, old and young people. Those people are uprooted and their homes destroyed. In addition, every sort of modern sophisticated weapon is used against them; and that is to say nothing of the fact that such acts embroil the entire region in a vicious cycle of violence. We therefore believe that international efforts must be mobilized to find a solution to the question of Palestine so as to restore stability and peace in the region.

Secondly, it must always be stressed that terrorism does not belong to a specific religion, civilization or culture. Terrorism is an aberrant act that exists in every human society. There must therefore be no linkage between terrorism and Islam, which advocates peace and friendship among all peoples of the world. We must not allow such a linkage to light the fuse of conflict between religions and civilizations.

It is regrettable that, at a time when many voices are being raised in the Islamic world calling for a dialogue among civilizations, we hear some voices in some States speak of the superiority of Western culture and civilization over Islamic culture and civilization. It is also regrettable that some media in some States should wage campaigns aimed at distorting the image of Arabs and Muslims and linking Islam and terrorism. This is a grave attack on Islam and Muslims. We believe that sowing the seeds of hatred among peoples is no less serious or dangerous than acts of terrorism themselves. That is the cause of conflict and extremism, and has the potential to damage humanity as a whole.

Thirdly, as terrorism has political, economic and social roots, we believe that dealing with those causes and finding successful solutions to them are essential to eradicating it. We must not allow those factors to be exploited in the commission of acts of terrorism that lead to such tragic events as the ones we witnessed recently against the United States of America and its people.

Finally, my delegation hopes that the General Assembly will adopt resolutions that reflect the opinions expressed by various delegations about terrorism and the means of responding in order to eradicate it.

Mr. Kamara (Sierra Leone): My delegation congratulates you and your friendly country, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your leadership of this session will be productive and fruitful.

Before I proceed any further, let me convey to our American colleagues and to the Government and people of the United States our shock and condolences at the loss of thousands of innocent lives resulting from the cowardly attacks in Washington, Pennsylvania and New York. Those despicable acts make this debate extremely timely and appropriate.

The Government and people of Sierra Leone reaffirm at the highest level their unequivocal condemnation of all terrorist acts, methods and practices as being criminal and unjustifiable, whenever, wherever and by whomsoever they are committed. The despicable acts committed in the United States on 11 September 2001 directly remind all Sierra Leoneans of the catastrophic events that took place on 6 January 1999, when in an attack on Freetown 5,000 innocent civilians lost their lives in a senseless onslaught. The Government and people of Sierra Leone have had their own share of living with terrorism during a decade-long struggle with the rebel forces of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the mayhem they have perpetrated on the peace-loving citizens of our nation.

In that regard, my delegation supports the position of the Non-Aligned Movement on international terrorism expressed in the Durban Declaration. While we support the legitimate struggles of peoples all over the world for independence and dignity, we condemn attacks on innocent civilians as cowardly and despicable crimes against the peace and security of mankind.

My delegation believes that the focus must now turn to establishing a precise and comprehensive definition of international terrorism. We all know what it is, but that is not enough. We must demonstrate the political will and commitment to agree on a definition. We have done this in the context of regional conventions like those of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). We now urgently need to do so the same at international level through the aegis of the United Nations, possibly through a conference of plenipotentiaries.

Defining the scourge of international terrorism is not enough. We must also engage ourselves in finding solutions to the problems that the terrorists use to justify their actions. Our involvement must be seen to be fair, just, transparent and neutral. We must not allow ourselves to be seen as supporting without mitigation only one side of a conflict — for that, rightly or wrongly, gives succour to those who engaged in the abominable acts we witnessed in the United States on 11 September 2001.

It must be the commitment of the entire international community to bring to justice those who kill innocent people in acts of terrorism. For example, if there is prima facie evidence that an individual or a certain group is involved in the commission of acts of terrorism, they must be brought before national or international courts to account for their crimes against humanity, war crimes and, possibly, acts of genocide. Certain entities, for example, do not have credible legal systems that meet the international standards of justice and transparency. In such case, therefore, the individual or select group must be handed over to a country that has the legal infrastructure to try those involved in the commission of the crime.

This debate shows the importance of having in place an international criminal court. My delegation believes that the crimes committed on 11 September in the United States would fall within the jurisdiction of the Court. All of us present here today must work arduously for the coming into operation of the Court.

The United Nations must be assisted in proscribing international acts of terrorism. The United Nations must, under Chapter VIII of the Charter, give regional organizations and agencies the mandate to deal with matters relating to international peace and security. Acts of terrorism are such matters that threaten international peace and security. However, for a Chapter-VIII mandate to be carried out effectively, the United Nations must provide regional organizations and agencies with the requisite resources to carry out that mandate.

A network of major conventions to prevent and suppress terrorism has been adopted. Despite those conventions, acts of terrorism continue, for rogue States persistently continue to frustrate the will of the international community. That is why we particularly welcomed the adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) on 28 September 2001. It is an added measure to combat international terrorism which provides that all States must endeavour to prevent and suppress the commission of acts of terrorism in all forms and manifestations.

My delegation insists that those States which continue to provide support and solace to terrorists must be swiftly and definitively punished. They must be sanctioned, and their political and military leaders must be held individually responsible for crimes committed by the perpetrators.

We reiterate our condemnation of all forms and manifestations of terrorism. We will support the international efforts, aided by national political will

and commitment, that are required to suppress acts of terrorism. We will cooperate with all other members in the achievement of that common goal.

Mrs. Pajula (Estonia): Since this is the first time that Estonia has taken the floor since the horrific events here in the United States on 11 September, please allow me to reiterate to the United States, to the American people and to the families of all the innocent victims the deepest condolences of the Government and the people of Estonia.

Because Estonia, as an associated country of the European Union, has aligned with Union's common statement, I shall be very brief.

First of all, let me assure the Assembly that Estonia is giving full support to action in the United Nations to ensure that no one, whether a State or an individual, supports, finances or harbours terrorism. Clearly, under the circumstances, the use of multilateral institutions as a common platform for action has become more important than ever. But it is also more evident than ever that in order to be successful in achieving our common goals in the fight against terrorism, enhanced cooperation is vitally needed at all possible levels of society. In that context we would like to stress the importance of strengthening regional and subregional cooperation.

With that in mind, Estonia, together with its Baltic neighbour States, has taken concrete steps to strengthen cooperation among our countries by working out a package of joint measures in response to the terrorist attacks against the United States. That package contains practical joint measures in the humanitarian aid, security, military and, last but not least, legal fields.

But besides that joint package with our neighbours, my Government has also worked out a detailed list of Estonia's preliminary measures for an enhanced fight against terrorism. One of the priorities on that list is enhancing the rule of law. Estonia quickly speeded up the process of ratifying the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. In a few days, on 9 October, the ratification process for both of those important legal instruments will reach its final stage in our Parliament.

We are also reviewing our national legislation and normative acts to make sure that they provide the legal basis and tools to prevent and, if necessary, to respond to terrorism. But legal instruments alone are not sufficient. A strong commitment by States and genuine cooperation among Governments and their law enforcement institutions are what is needed for efficient action.

Our strength is in unity. Let us provide our common fight with all the necessary tools by ensuring that the best possible coordination of anti-terrorist measures, backed by enhanced information exchange among all allies and partners, becomes a reality.

Mrs. Ataeva (Turkmenistan): I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to your post, with its great responsibilities, and wish you all success.

As one of the ugliest phenomena of our time, terrorism is no new concept: mankind has faced it from time immemorial. But the dangerous trend towards an expansion of its scope beyond regional borders, along with the dire consequences of terrorist acts, have made it a genuine threat to the peace and security of all mankind. We cannot exclude the real threat of nuclear terrorism.

Increasingly frequent terrorist acts in their most varied and horrific forms — bombings, drug terrorism, air hijacking, hostage-taking, religious fanaticism — have taken thousands of innocent lives and have destabilized the foundations of societies, causing panic and chaos, undermining the economies of victim countries and posing a threat to the bases of international peace and security.

The cruelty and dire consequences of the 11 September events in New York shook the entire world community. We in Turkmenistan met with deep sorrow the tragic events in the United States of America. The leadership and the people of Turkmenistan share the suffering of the people of the United States and convey their condolences to the families and friends of those who died.

Our country has sternly condemned the perpetration of terrorist acts. It is perfectly clear that the evil, which has cost thousands of innocent lives, must be punished. We must take urgent steps to eliminate the possibility that such tragedies will be repeated. We must root out terrorism in each and every country.

Mr. Ould Deddach (Mauritania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Human values must be reliably protected from the infringement of dark forces. Here there is no alternative but close cooperation by States under the auspices of the United Nations. In this connection, we fully endorse the Secretary-General's view that the United Nations is the only forum for establishing a global coalition, as only in this way can we lend global legitimacy to the long-term struggle against terrorism.

Close international cooperation is required to suppress and eliminate terrorism and its consequences and to ensure the right to life, to freedom and to personal security. Turkmenistan supports the establishment of an international anti-terrorist coalition. As a State whose neutral status is recognized by the international community through the United Nations, Turkmenistan deems it appropriate that such a coalition be a permanent body of the United Nations and that it carry out its activities under the auspices of the Organization, with clearly stated goals, tasks, functions, powers and working machinery. Its existence within the United Nations, in close cooperation with all States and international organizations, would allow for the establishment of a system that would ensure that any manifestation of terrorism anywhere in the world will not go unpunished, and would allow us also to take effective measures to combat it.

We are also in favour of the initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations in order to pool international efforts and coordinate the positions of States, with the goal of suppressing and eliminating terrorism.

Terrorism, regardless of the reasons behind the commission of terrorist acts or of the goals of their masterminds, is a terrible crime that contravenes the Charter of the United Nations and represents the gravest of infringements on the rights and freedoms of the human being.

In this connection, we need to increase the number of legal instruments that give a concrete definition of terrorism and consequently specify how it should be punished. The most reliable instrument for this purpose would be a comprehensive international convention on international terrorism - work on which must be sped up. Turkmenistan's neutral status, entered into as an international obligation, means that our country's action in the international arena is in strict compliance with the Charter of the United Nations. On this basis, Turkmenistan's policies have always strictly adhered to United Nations guidelines, and it has always cooperated with other members of the world community and international organizations.

We can and we must fight against terrorism, but Turkmenistan believes that the campaign against international terrorism requires a careful, well-thought-out approach. All steps and actions designed to eliminate hotbeds of international terrorism must be targeted ones. They should do no harm to innocent people; they should be in keeping with the norms of international law; and they should not lead to a destabilization of the situation in the region.

Turkmenistan attaches great importance to international conventions against terrorism as a legal instrument to combat this modern-day scourge, and, accordingly, it has acceded to the majority of such instruments or is working to do so. We have taken a number of practical steps pursuant to international conventions, as is reflected in our national legislation and legislative proposals.

In the context of current events, we would like to point out the following. For 22 years now, a war has been waged in the long-suffering land of Afghanistan. Turkmenistan, while not interfering in the internal affairs of neighbourly fraternal Afghanistan, has done a great deal to organize peace talks, under the auspices of the United Nations, among the warring parties. We once again express our hope that an effective negotiation process will be possible. In spite of all of the developments, the United Nations, as an impartial Organization, must play a central, coordinating role in inter-Afghan talks.

In this connection, the President of Turkmenistan, Mr. Saparmurat Niyazov, proposed, during this terrible time, the establishment of a special United Nations office in Ashkhabad, which would take the initiative of organizing a mission with the goal of finding a mutually acceptable solution to the problem.

Turkmenistan, in an immediate reaction to the tragedy, offered to lend humanitarian assistance to the civilian population of Afghanistan, first and foremost to women and children, who have been feeling the brunt of the consequences of terrorism. Working closely with United Nations agencies, and the United States Government, we are receiving humanitarian

deliveries of medicines, foodstuffs and basic necessities, and we are establishing all of the necessary conditions for their dispatch to Afghanistan.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that the strengthening of international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations is a prerequisite for the successful resolution of the complex international problems we face. The ideals and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations must be defended, and that is why we must strictly condemn all acts of terrorism and join the efforts of the international community to combat it. This is the only real force capable of combating terrorism.

Neutral Turkmenistan reaffirms its determination actively to cooperate within the framework of the United Nations for the full eradication of terrorism.

Mr. Adechi (Benin) (*spoke in French*): The delegation of Benin, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, is pleased to be able to take the floor on the agenda item now before us on the consideration of measures aimed at eliminating international terrorism.

We also welcome the initiative of the European Union to propose the consideration, in plenary of the General Assembly, of the highly important and disturbing question of international terrorism. The consideration of this issue by the General Assembly reflects the unanimous condemnation of the barbaric and retrograde acts committed on 11 September 2001.

The debate we have had over the past three days in plenary have underscored — though that emphasis was hardly necessary — the threat that terrorism poses to the security of States and to the progress of humankind.

We believe that the consideration of this item at a time when preparatory work is under way on the creation of International Criminal Court is a sign for the future.

The Government of Benin has expressed the full solidarity of the people of Benin with the people of the United States, whose grief and sorrow we share, and has forcefully condemned this heinous attack, which struck America but is also a threat to the entire world.

Since this year is devoted to the promotion of a dialogue among civilizations, the terrorist attack of 11 September could not have been more untimely. That is why the international community must show its resolve to combat terrorism in all its forms, as it represents a threat to the coherence of human communities.

Terrorism also violates the fundamental principles of the Charter and runs counter to the legitimate aspirations of peoples to build a world of peace, of solidarity and of progress.

Terrorism violates the fundamental principles of human rights and thereby constitutes a threat to the coherence of our societies and to democracy, above all to emerging or fragile democracies.

Benin is therefore deeply concerned at the increase in terrorist acts throughout the world. Convinced that no motive can rightly be invoked to justify such acts, Benin has always condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Indeed, no civilization, no culture, no religion advocates or justifies such extremist and barbaric behaviour.

It seems clear today that the links between terrorism and transnational crime are strengthening and becoming globalized, making all illicit trade lucrative, ranging from prostitution and the exploitation of vulnerable groups of our societies to the illicit trade in small arms and precious metals.

When a threat is global and multidimensional, the response must be global and diversified. Terrorism is not an isolated phenomenon. It is the result of political manipulation, but it is also fuelled by long-disregarded frustrations stemming from social inequality, marginalization and exclusion.

In a way, the terrorists are a violent mirror of the dysfunction of our human community. We must therefore return, once the primacy of law is restored, to seeking together the causes and circumstances that lead to acts as desperate as they are criminal and unjustifiable.

At the national and international levels, we shall have to consider the preventive side of our action in order to eradicate this scourge once and for all. Such an undertaking can succeed only through the combined efforts of the entire international community. The heads of State and Government, meeting at the Millennium Summit last year, reiterated their commitment to undertaking concerted action to conquer terrorism in accordance with the relevant international conventions. The United Nations, through its mission and composition, is the ideal and legitimate

forum for coordinating the mobilization and action of the international community.

Benin has assured the Government of the United States of America of its readiness to do all in its power to cooperate bilaterally in the fight against terrorism. Benin will also work constructively with the other Members of the Organization to find a lasting solution to this scourge. We are convinced that, through solidarity, cooperation and the effective implementation of the relevant international instruments, we will succeed. That is why welcome India's initiative of submitting a draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism, as recommended in resolution 54/110. Along the same lines, we urge that obstacles to the adoption of the convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism be promptly removed.

The fight against terrorism will be long and arduous. We must therefore be resolute in overcoming the difficulties along the way. In that respect, we have no choice but to define unambiguously the concept of terrorism if we wish to maintain and strengthen the broad mobilization to win this struggle. That is the price we must pay to strengthen peace and security throughout the world. That is the price we must pay to bequeath to future generations a world free of fear and threats to the survival of humankind.

Mr. Singhara Na Ayudhaya (Thailand): I should like to begin by adding my voice to all those that have spoken before me in expressing once again our deepest sympathies to the families of the more than 6,000 Americans and other nationals, including Thais, who lost their lives in the tragedy of 11 September 2001. No one can understand both the sorrow and the outrage better than Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City, who spoke to us on 1 October. At the same time, his leadership during the darkest hours of this city and his words of fortitude during his address symbolize the resilience of the people of New York and the United States in the face of international terrorism and their determination to move forward. As a fellow New Yorker, I pay tribute to the Mayor and to all the people he represents.

Our meeting takes place amidst a flurry of activities that have been going on here in the United Nations and elsewhere as the international community closes ranks to fight against the common threat posed to international peace and security by international terrorism. As we deliberate on possible future courses of action, I should like to reiterate very clearly where we stand.

We condemn in the strongest terms such acts of terrorism as were perpetrated in the United States on 11 September 2001. We join the United Nations in calling for international cooperation to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these outrages and we will join any international coalition to combat terrorism.

Already, the General Assembly has adopted resolution 56/1 on 12 September, of which we are proud to be a part, and the Security Council has adopted resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) on 12 and 28 September, respectively. These are welcome developments. In the view of my delegation, the implications of these General Assembly and Security Council resolutions are clear.

The international community is united in the universal condemnation of those responsible for the tragedy and the terrorism that they represent. Nevertheless, this unity must be sustained as we move from condemnation of terrorist acts to cooperation to fight terrorism. As the Secretary-General reminded us on 1 October,

> "Terrorism will be defeated if the international community summons the will to unite in a broad coalition, or it will not be defeated at all." (*A/56/PV.12*)

It is our hope that this coalition will be as broad and as universal as possible, embracing the full spectrum of humanity.

But what is equally important is that these resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council, have virtually eliminated any notion of so-called neutrality from the fight against terrorism. We have a clear, international obligation, as Members of the United Nations, to cooperate with one another to fight against terrorism. If Security Council resolution 1368 (2001) laid down the principles in this struggle, Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) created the framework. The scope of this framework is indeed comprehensive, covering cooperation in the financial, immigration, operational information and other areas. We will now need to examine, in close consultations with Member States, how this cooperation can be most effectively operationalized.

On our part, we have already extended our cooperation to the international community through our existing laws, such as those on mutual assistance in criminal matters, in the form of information exchange and intelligence sharing. Our immigration policies and procedures are being reviewed and reinforced. In addition, Thailand is taking all necessary steps to ensure that the relevant Security Council resolutions, including those relating to the financing of terrorist acts, are effectively carried out. These should play an important role in facilitating the implementation of the relevant recommendations of the Security Council resolutions designed to cut off the financial bases of terrorists and terrorist organizations.

For our part, Thailand is now party to the four hijacking conventions and in the process of considering accession to other conventions relating to terrorism, in particular the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, as called for in resolution 1373 (2001). But the key word is cooperation, and that requires that we be given the appropriate assistance and support, including technical, financial or informational, so that the cooperation can be as effective as possible.

As we move forward together in our common struggle against international terrorism, I should like to address four points in the broader scheme of things which, I hope, the international community will bear in mind.

First, let us recognize that the scourge of terrorism, like a hydra, has many heads, linking it to many other spheres of illegal and criminal activities. As stated in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), there are close connections between international terrorism and illicit drugs, transnational organized crime and money laundering, to name a few. To deal with them effectively requires coordinated efforts against all these activities. Illicit drug production and trafficking, in many cases, generate the enormous financial resources that help make terrorism such a formidable foe. All the measures to tackle the financial networks of terrorist organizations will not be so effective if the sources of the financial flows are not effectively dealt with. The drug producer or drug trafficker is a terrorist in his actions just as much as the person holding the gun.

Secondly, let us accept that if terrorism is a threat for all of humanity, then all members of the international community should ontinue to be given the opportunity to contribute in charting the course of action humanity intends to take in this common struggle. In this connection, we should recognize the important role the General Assembly can play in these endeavours. For example, the work of the Ad Hoc Committee to, inter alia, develop a comprehensive convention on international terrorism, currently being undertaken within the framework of the Sixth Committee, should be accelerated and supported. We commend the Secretary-General for drawing attention to this point in his report on measures to eliminate international terrorism in document A/56/160.

Thirdly, let us realize what the coalescence of this broad coalition of States against terrorism is telling us: no State can tackle problems, especially those of a global nature, by itself. In this globalized world, there is simply no better alternative than multilateralism. One would be hard pressed to find a more effective mechanism for tackling such global problems than the type of close, dynamic cooperation and goodwill among States and peoples that multilateralism engenders.

And lastly, let us remind ourselves that for all the horror and revulsion that terrorism brings to its victims, we should not forget our own humanity in dealing with the problem. In fighting terrorism, we should not encroach on the civil liberties of individuals or on the human rights of people that are guaranteed by our laws and nurtured by our commitment to democratic values. In fighting against terrorism, we should not succumb to paranoia or xenophobia, which would result in greater mistrust amongst States and peoples. Terrorism is a global phenomenon that is not identified with any group of people, particular region or faith. It is faceless and, indeed, faithless.

Thailand stands ready to cooperate with the international community and the United Nations to eliminate international terrorism in order to make our world safer for humanity.

Miss Clarke (Barbados): As I join the debate on this very critical issue, allow me to congratulate the President on his the election as President of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session. I am confident that the Assembly will benefit from his leadership and guidance as Member States strive to improve the performance of this unique Organization as it continues to serve the peoples of the world.

Barbados associates itself fully with the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Dominica on behalf of the member States of the Caribbean Community.

The Government of Barbados joins other members of the international community in expressing its utter abhorrence of the barbaric terrorist attacks perpetrated against the United States of America on 11 September 2001. As a democratic and peace-loving country, Barbados strongly condemns terrorism in all of its manifestations, particularly when it results in the loss of human life. The use of terrorism as a means to an end has no place in the modern world of tolerance and peaceful coexistence, to which we as Member States of the United Nations are committed.

Barbados therefore joins the international community in supporting the call for the perpetrators of this ignominious crime to be identified, apprehended and brought swiftly to justice. We also pledge our cooperation in the sustained global effort which will be needed in the months and years ahead to deal effectively with this very grave threat to international peace and security. For we firmly believe that terrorism is a global problem which necessitates a global response.

Like other members of the international community, Barbados fully supports Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1, as well as the resolution on "Strengthening hemispheric cooperation to prevent, combat, and eliminate terrorism", adopted at the meeting of consultation of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States on 21 September, and is committed to their implementation.

We are also painfully aware, from our own experience, that no country, however small, is immune to terrorism. Indeed, small countries are particularly vulnerable because they frequently do not have the logistical and intelligence assets to effectively track the activities of terrorists and other agents of transnational crime. It is for this reason that the exchange of information is critical if we are to enjoy any success in this fight. For its part, the Government of Barbados will continue its cooperation in exchanging information with law enforcement authorities of other jurisdictions in an effort to ensure that terrorists do not find a safe haven in our country. Barbados is equally committed to ensuring that its national territory is not used by terrorists to launch or to finance the launching of attacks against third countries. We have therefore instituted enhanced security measures at our air and sea ports.

In addition, Barbados is willing to join with all other Member States to elaborate appropriate measures capable of harmonizing the approach of the international community in relation to terrorism. To this end, we look forward to the development of appropriate standards through which internationally accepted legal norms may be applied in the fight against terrorism.

Last week Barbados, along with other member States of the Caribbean Community, participated in a signing ceremony which had been arranged long before 11 September. I had the privilege of signing, on behalf of the Government of Barbados, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, as well as the supplementary Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition.

As a country whose economy is heavily dependent on tourism, Barbados is well aware of the importance of providing a safe and secure environment not only for Barbadians but also for those foreign nationals who visit our shores or reside in Barbados.

I wish to stress in the strongest terms possible that Barbados has no intention of allowing its financial services sector to be used as a conduit for the financing of the activities of terrorists or any other international criminal elements. From its inception, the Barbados financial services sector has operated within a strict legal and regulatory framework. Long before 11 September, Barbados sought to ensure that its international financial sector met international standards in respect of regulation, supervision and other anti-money-laundering measures. In this context, we have scrupulously adhered to the guidelines laid down by the Caribbean Financial Action Task Force, which is affiliated to the Financial Action Task Force. We have enacted anti-money-laundering legislation, and last year established an anti-money-laundering authority, which is serviced by a financial intelligence unit. We will continue to cooperate fully with our bilateral partners and with ongoing regional and international anti-money-laundering efforts.

I would like at this stage to say a special word about the great city of New York, which is home to

thousands of immigrants from my country, at least two of whom tragically lost their lives at the World Trade Center on 11 September. New York is also a home away from home for the thousands of diplomats and Secretariat staff of all nationalities and faiths who serve at the United Nations and represent their countries in the collective pursuit of world peace, human well-being and prosperity. We therefore share with all New Yorkers a personal sense of loss and outrage, and a determination never to let terror win.

The economic impact of these dreadful events is being felt not just by New York and the United States, but by every nation around the world, especially the smallest and most vulnerable. Coping with the economic consequences of 11 September is a shared problem which will also require priority international attention in the coming weeks and months.

We all know the famous warning that in order for evil to prevail all that is needed is for good men — and, dare I say, good women — to do nothing. Evil showed its face on 11 September. We are, however, confident that, with the combined efforts of the international community, the evil of terrorism will not prevail.

Mr. Prica (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I would like to join other delegations in congratulating Mr. Han on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session.

I would also like to express our deepest condolences to the American people, and especially to the families of those who lost their lives as a result of the terrorist attacks in the United States. We would also like to express our appreciation to Mayor Giuliani for his speech in which he shared with us the fundamental values of humanity. Recent events in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania have, unfortunately, shown the magnitude of the hard work that still lies ahead of us in building a better world.

The tragedy of 11 September suddenly raised one very important issue that has obviously been neglected to date: international terrorism. Even though fighting international terrorism has been discussed in many forums, including the General Assembly, for several years, we have failed to ensure the appropriate and comprehensive implementation of the many conventions, treaties and resolutions that have been adopted to deal with this problem. A comprehensive approach has to be taken to fighting international terrorism at the global, regional and national levels, and this should, of course, include legal, political and economic aspects.

The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina is fully committed to the efforts of the international community to achieve the ultimate goal of eradicating international terrorism. The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has thus already approved a plan of action, and we are pleased to inform the Assembly about it. The Council of Ministers has taken into consideration our obligations, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). A coordinating body has been established to prepare an adequate report for the Security Council about measures and activities relating to the implementation of that resolution.

Bosnia and Herzegovina plans to sign and ratify the recently adopted International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Amendments to our asylum and immigration law will be finalized and sent on to the Parliamentary Assembly for adoption as a matter of urgency. New security measures will be implemented at all airports, including adjustments in the policy of issuing flight licences, in accordance with relevant international conventions. The State Border Service is being strengthened, and a system for ensuring accurate information about entries and exits at all border crossings is being created. Customs controls are also being strengthened.

All decisions relating to the issuing of passports and citizenship certificates are being re-examined. A new visa regime is being established that will be in compliance with the standards and criteria of the Schengen visa regime and those of other neighbouring countries. Comprehensive data on all personnel from international, humanitarian and non-governmental organizations is being compiled. In accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 1333 (2000), we are checking for all accounts and deposits that might belong to individuals and groups linked to international terrorist organizations; if such accounts exist, they will be frozen.

Reiterating strongly that international terrorism has no roots in any religion, we would like to condemn all the individuals and groups that manipulate religion in an attempt to justify horrible criminal acts. Every religion teaches love among people, not violence and

hatred. That means that those who abuse the religious feelings of people are working against God's will.

The crime of international terrorism belongs in the category of the most serious crimes, and has the potential to affect all the countries in the world. We would therefore like to suggest the inclusion of such a crime, in a form acceptable to all countries, within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.

There can be no doubt that the United Nations will have to continue to play a leading role in fighting international terrorism. Scientific and technological advances can clearly become a threat if they get into the hands of terrorists. This prospect creates a climate of fear at the beginning of a century which is expected to bring about the even greater development of technologies. In such a context, the United Nations has to undertake certain measures to ensure that progress in technology is used for the betterment of humanity, not for increasing fear.

During this General Assembly session we have expressed our full commitment to declaring war on terrorism. We have adopted many resolutions and conventions on this issue. But we are deeply convinced that we should strengthen the follow-up of the implementation of all these United Nations instruments.

We are therefore proposing that the General Assembly and the Security Council establish one body to be responsible for the follow-up of the implementation of the provisions of those United Nations instruments. That would be the best way to enable the international community to continue to be alert to prevent the spread of such a horrible international evil.

Mrs. dos Santos Jalo (Guinea-Bissau): Since this is the first time that I have taken the floor, permit me to congratulate Mr. Han Seung-soo on his election as President of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly and to congratulate Secretary-General Kofi Annan upon his re-election to a second term.

Tuesday, 11 September 2001, is a day of sorrow, not only for the people of the United States of America but also for all of civilized society. Our delegation, the people and the Government of Guinea-Bissau have deep sympathy with the pain inflicted on our host city of New York, and we wish to express our deepest condolences to the Government and people of the United States of America and to all other countries who lost their nationals in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania.

Although this barbaric act of terrorism happened on American soil, it touched us all in one way or another. It took away the freedom and peace of mind we enjoyed in believing that we lived in a global and civilized world. Our children, for whom we were preparing to work during the twenty-seventh special session of the General Assembly, deserve a civilized global world — a world of peace and security where they can fly in aeroplanes without fear, walk to their schools breathing safe air without masks, drink the water of their lands without any suspicion of inhaling poison. If we do not clean up the earth for our children, there will be no future for humankind. We should stand together and fight terrorism in order to bring freedom and peace for our children of tomorrow.

These criminal evil minds have no hearts, no human purpose in their lives and, even less, no faith in God. There is no religion that teaches the killing of another human being. These godless people have a simple name — terrorists — whose own lives are worthless.

On 11 September, the people of our host city of New York presented us with a lesson. In the shadow of their pain, they stood together without intimidation. The terrorists should not win our hearts. They should not intimidate the community of nations continuing the fight that led to the creation of this Organization. It is a fight for a world of peace and security in order to bring sustainable development to all humanity so that our children can enjoy a peaceful tomorrow free of violence and fear.

The fight against international terrorism seems to be a complicated task. The attacks on 11 September have made it evident that no country and no place is immune from terrorism. Therefore, the international community should strengthen its efforts to solve regional conflicts as one of the methods of combating terrorism. The United Nations, which plays a key role in the system of suppressing terrorism, already has reacted through Security Council resolution 1368 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1.

Our common village, the world, is preparing for the International Conference on Financing for Development. To achieve the goals of this Conference, we need peace and security. There can be no

development without peace, especially in today's globalized world. Those responsible for these horrific crimes against innocent lives should be brought to justice. International law under the United Nations Charter should be our guide so that all nations can enjoy peace and work towards sustainable development.

My Government believes in dialogue as a way to solve this problem. Therefore, we are strongly supportive of efforts to find better and efficient alternatives to combat terrorism and all of its root causes. Guinea-Bissau is committed to working towards the implementation of existing international anti-terrorism conventions and all new conventions, propositions and measures that can help in the fight against terrorism.

Mr. Stanislaus (Grenada): The delegation of Grenada aligns itself with the statement presented by the representative of Dominica on behalf of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

As the marathon debate on this agenda item, "Measures to eliminate international terrorism", winds down, everything that should be said has already been said, but not everyone has said so. Therefore, for the record, Grenada, whether by accident or by design, claims its place among the last speakers.

It was the immortal William Shakespeare who wrote centuries ago:

> "Sweet are the uses of adversity,
> Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> Wears yet a precious jewel in his head".
> (*"As You Like It", Act II, scene one*)

The dastardly, criminal and horrific terrorist act perpetrated on the United States of America — indeed, upon the civilized world — on 11 September, galvanized the solidarity of the international community in its condemnation and its resolve, especially the people of the United States of America and New Yorkers, who have found strength and unity in adversity.

The Prime Minister of Grenada, the Honourable Keith Mitchell, has already extended his profound personal sympathy and that of the Government and people of Grenada to the President of the United States of America and to the relatives of the many victims who lost their lives and those who have been maimed or injured by this senseless and barbaric act.

Grenada, too, lost nationals in those terrorist attacks and, therefore, feels the pain of the thousands of people of other countries who have lost their loved ones, loved ones whom we loved so much.

When hatred and violence determine the actions of individuals, the result can only be extreme behaviour that causes the wanton and callous destruction of life and property. The view that hatred is bred by feelings of dispossession, imbalance and inequality cannot be ignored, and we must consider taking steps to reduce the economic and social imbalances that exist in our world community. This would no doubt assist in our fight against terrorism.

The Government of Grenada recalls Article 1 of the Charter and calls on this body to take every step necessary to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security.

We wish to reiterate the purpose of the Organization, which calls for

> "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace".

The Government of Grenada pledges its full support for actions to eliminate the scourge of terrorism. We must ensure that acts of terrorism do not become a facet of human existence.

My country fully supports and endorses Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), which sets out important measures that countries — big and small, rich and poor — must all now take together to prevent and combat terrorists in our jurisdictions, or wherever they may be found, in all their forms and manifestations.

Grenada has already begun to take steps within its jurisdiction and within its capacity to prevent and suppress the financing of terrorists. Our priority will be to aim at, first, seeking to prevent those who finance, plan, facilitate or commit terrorist acts from using Grenada for those purposes against other States or other citizens, and, secondly, finding ways of intensifying and accelerating the exchange and sharing of information. Grenada is examining its administrative and other processes with a view to improving efficiency in this regard. But our activities will not be limited.

My country will intensify the degree of regional and international cooperation, as we seek to ensure that

there are no gaps in the global framework and in the fight against this heinous crime. Grenada will reinforce and extend its international cooperation arrangements in the field of justice, policing and law enforcement.

My Government fully supports the development of a comprehensive and effective legal framework to combat terrorism. My country has begun a review of international conventions already in place, with a view to signing, ratifying and fully implementing them. Those not yet in effect would be implemented. Some of these conventions are within the United Nations system, while others are of a regional or hemispheric nature.

Priority is being given to the existing 12 United Nations and international conventions against terrorism, in particular the United Nations Convention on terrorist financing.

It is necessary for the international community to send a clear signal to the terrorists that their philosophy is fundamentally wrong and totally unacceptable. We must stand united in our efforts to combat and eliminate activities aimed at killing innocent people and destroying communities.

The Government of Grenada joins the Caribbean Community in pledging our full support in the efforts to confront terrorist activities and restore the rights and freedoms of people all over the world.

Finally, Grenada has had an opportunity in another forum to greet, salute and congratulate the President on his conduct of the meetings of the General Assembly thus far. Our confidence in his leadership and skilful handling of them is reinforced.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

United Nations A/56/PV.22

General Assembly
Fifty-sixth session

Official Records

22nd plenary meeting
Friday, 5 October 2001, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

Agenda item 166 (*continued*)

Measures to eliminate international terrorism

Report of the Secretary-General (A/56/160 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Mr. Gounaris (Greece): I would like to align myself with the statement of the Presidency of the European Union and join previous speakers in condemning the horrendous terrorist attacks, of an unprecedented scale, that shook New York City, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania on 11 September. Our deepest sympathy goes to the families of those who perished, are missing or were wounded in the ground zero zone and the Pentagon. I would like to express our full solidarity with the Government of the United States and the American people over this tragedy, which challenges all of humanity.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Papandreou, declared on 11 September,

> "the abhorrent terrorist attack against the American people was, in fact, an attack against free society, democracy and humanity as a whole."

The Greek people, with one voice, condemn the terrorist attacks, which are intended to create a new scheme of warfare that is universally unacceptable. Our painful experiences have made us even more sensitive on this issue. Greece unequivocally condemns the perpetrators and sponsors of such acts of barbarism, and is ready to offer the international community all possible assistance required in order to punish those responsible.

The carefully planned and coordinated attacks were directed against the innocent civilian population and intended to cause the maximum loss of life of thousands of defenceless working people of the United States as well as numerous other nationals, from all parts of the world.

There can be no doubt that the international nature and the large scale of the attack characterize it as a crime against humanity. The loss of human life, regardless of ethnicity or race, demands immediate, effective action to bring those responsible to justice and to avert any possibility of such crimes being committed again. The United Nations should spare no effort towards achieving our common goal of preventing and suppressing terrorist attacks wherever they might occur.

The United Nations, bearing prime responsibility in this fight against terrorism, has acted with speed and unity. On 12 September both the Security Council and the General Assembly adopted strong resolutions condemning the attacks and calling on all States to cooperate in bringing the perpetrators to justice. On 28 September a second and more detailed resolution was adopted by the Security Council, building on the first. The extensive deliberations of the plenary of the General Assembly underline our willingness to

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promote cooperation on this issue and pursue the implementation of these resolutions.

Our collective efforts, our global cooperation and action, are now needed, more than ever, on all levels, both nationally and internationally. The fight against terrorism should only bring the Member States of the United Nations closer to our common goals: embracing our democratic values; cherishing our freedoms; and strengthening development.

However, let me clarify that any attempt to identify this fight with one religion or equate it with one region or one race, or even to single out one country, defeats our purpose of ensuring peace and security, building more tolerance, safeguarding multiculturalism and avoiding fragmentation.

We reaffirm our commitment to join forces in the global efforts to eliminate the horror of terrorism. Greece, as a State Party to all major international antiterrorism conventions, is currently promoting — as an addition to existing legislation concerning weapons, ammunition and explosives that fully secures the criminal prosecution and punishment of those responsible for terrorist acts — a draft law to deal with specific issues of organized crime and terrorist acts. Moreover, with a series of other laws, the Greek State ensures the moral and material support of victims of terrorist acts and their families, and recognizes the right of the victims to be compensated by the State for material damage that they have sustained by reason of a terrorist act.

With our partners in the European Union, we will take all necessary steps to reinforce our efforts and pursue collective European action across all our territories, as expressed in the conclusions and plan of action of the extraordinary European Council meeting of 21 September 2001. In particular, specific legislation, within the framework of the Schengen Convention, has been adopted on the fight against terrorism, organized crime and drug smuggling and regarding the possession, acquisition, dealing and trafficking in general of firearms and ammunition by individuals or legal entities on the territory of the European Union.

However, our struggle to eradicate terrorism should not lessen our efforts for development, democracy and human rights, especially in those parts of the world where they are most needed. On the contrary, our universal efforts should go hand in hand. Our common endeavours should focus on addressing and resolving any regional crises, thus laying a solid ground for good neighbourly relations, peace and security.

In Afghanistan, at this very moment, a humanitarian crisis is unfolding. Greece has announced its humanitarian contribution, to be disbursed both bilaterally and multilaterally.

We trust that, at the beginning of this new century, the guidelines laid out by our heads of State and Prime Ministers in the Millennium Declaration

> "To take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions" (*resolution 55/2, para. 9*)

will prevail.

Mr. Lewis (Antigua and Barbuda): Thank you, Mr. President, for your correct pronunciation of Antigua.

Since this is the first time that I have had the honour to address the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session, permit me to offer congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of your high office. Your reputation of brilliance, fairness and congeniality has preceded you to the office that you hold. My delegation is confident that, under your guidance, we will have a successful and progressive fifty-sixth session.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Antigua and Barbuda, I wish to associate myself with the statement made by Mr. Simon Richards of Dominica on the topic under discussion, international measures against terrorism. My country firmly supports the points he emphasized, namely, the solidarity of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) with the international community; secondly, the nature of a global response; and, thirdly, CARICOM's pledge to support internationally agreed measures. He emphasized that the United Nations strategy had to be comprehensive and multifaceted, with the overarching goal of studying and eliminating the causes and sources of terrorism, whether they be social, economic or political.

My country likewise endorses the Security Council resolution of 12 September, which called upon

> "States to work together urgently to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors" (*Security Council resolution 1368 (2001), para. 3*)

of the terrorist acts of 11 September. Likewise, Antigua and Barbuda

> "*regards* such acts, like any act of international terrorism, as a threat to international peace and security". (*ibid., para. 1*)

It is even more distressing to learn that on 1 October there was another serious terrorist attack, this time in Jammu and Kashmir, where 40 people have so far died — among them women and children — while a large number of individuals remain wounded, some seriously.

Those events, and particularly those of 11 September, manifested the international dimensions of terrorism. It is, as stated by Mr. Kamalesh Sharma of India,

> "an organic whole; it would be dangerous to try to cut one of the cells out ... It is an evil that metastasizes. Terrorism must be destroyed root and branch. It is the anathema of the new century." (*A/56/PV.16*)

In conclusion, I must state that it is imperative that we address in a more meaningful manner the underlying social, economic and political problems that cause human misery; for, beyond being humanitarian, this would help to remove the atmosphere in which terrorism prospers. We must act to ensure that the entire global society lives in an environment of freedom and that it is free from fear. The fight against terrorism will be long; it will be arduous; but it is one in which we must thoroughly and completely engage ourselves.

Mr. Ecua Miko (Equatorial Guinea) (*spoke in Spanish*): There are situations and things that demand that everyone speak out.

In a corner of the world, villagers used a deaf mute, because of his physical strength, to do all the hard labour. On one occasion, he had been working for a week at cleaning the farm of a villager who had employed him. When it came time to pay him, the employer paid him $1. The deaf mute exclaimed, "Is this what you are paying me?" To which the employer responded, "But you have never said anything." So there are things one has to say. There are things that can make someone speak up. The events of 11 September cannot but make us do what we have been doing in this Hall this week.

As this is the first time that my delegation has taken part in debate at the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly, allow me to convey my delegation's greetings to President Han Seung-soo, and congratulations on his election to the presidency of this session and the excellent way in which he is presiding over our work; to Mr. Harri Holkeri, on his impeccable work as President of the fifty-fifth session of the Assembly; and to Mr. Kofi Annan, on his well-deserved re-election and his report on the work of the Organization, which has elicited everyone's praise.

Judging from the number of speakers who have spoken before me from this podium — among whom I should mention in particular Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York, who honoured us with his presence on 1 October — I would say that on agenda item 166, entitled "Measures to eliminate international terrorism", much has been said and much remains to be said and done; for we, human beings, are the ones with the potential to eradicate terrorism, as we are the ones who have produced this virus.

Terrorism is not a natural disaster; it is the result of the minds of certain people who, besides lacking self-esteem, have no future because they lack principles.

The unthinkable terrorist acts of 11 September took place a few days before the United Nations special session devoted to children was due to begin. It had been scheduled to be held in New York from 19 to 21 September 2001.

Equatorial Guinea supports and endorses without reservation the sound and sensible proposals and recommendations that have been made by the Security Council, the General Assembly and from this very rostrum — I am referring here to Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1, as well as to previous relevant resolutions — to help us advance on the long, arduous and winding path that is the combat against international terrorism, with the goal of its full eradication.

In my country, we say that it is good to find and bring to justice the perpetrator of a crime, but it is

much better to resolve the problem that he has caused. Indeed, the authorities of my country spoke along these lines following the sad and horrendous events of 11 September 2001.

On 12 September, the President of the Republic, Mr. Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, who happened to be in the United States at that time, sent a message of condolences to Mr. George Bush, President of the United States of America. At the same time, the Government, following an emergency session and through an official declaration, condemned the terrorist attacks as well as terrorism in general. Subsequently it reaffirmed the Republic of Equatorial Guinea's total support for, and solidarity with, the people and the Government of the United States in these days of sadness and grief.

The Government declared three days of national mourning in memory of the victims of the tragedy, which, it noted, affected not only the United States but all human societies that have aspirations for the future based on peace, freedom, justice and democracy. Who, in one way or another, has not been affected by the destruction and the disappearance of the World Trade Center — not to mention by the other attacks? The Government put our law enforcement and security forces on high alert in order to ensure vigilance and to protect all United States nationals and interests in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

This conflict is not one that pits the West against Islam nor some nations against others because of their faith. Terrorism is the enemy of all peoples and of all civilizations of the world, and therefore it deserves universal condemnation and the adoption of individual and collective measures to dismantle its entire financing mechanism as well as support of any kind for terrorist operations. As a result, we urgently need closer coordination and cooperation at the international level, which would consider, among other things, the necessary exchange of information to prevent and protect ourselves against these terrorist acts.

Equatorial Guinea understands that the United Nations must hold consultations at the highest level in order to set up guidelines and to establish a programme of action to combat terrorism and to ensure its eradication, as well as safeguard the values of freedom and the dignity of the human person in the face of the barbaric, irrational and perverse nature of international terrorism.

The House of Representatives of the People of Equatorial Guinea, when it met at its second session, spoke out along these lines through an institutional declaration approved on 16 September that condemned the terrorist acts of 11 September and expressed solidarity with the people of the United States. The legislative body of my country has acknowledged the danger posed by these terrorist attacks for the stability of countries and for world peace, and that efforts should be deployed to put an end to international terrorism, strictly abiding by the criteria of justice and liberty.

The House of Representatives has also expressed its complete willingness to support the Government's policies in the fight against international terrorism. Accordingly, it is prepared to approve any legal orders submitted to it through the proper channels.

As a corollary to all of these actions and events, the President of the Republic — during a solemn ecumenical gathering in support of the United States that strongly condemned terrorism and which took place at Malabo on 29 September, with broad participation on the part of political leaders, religious representatives, representatives of the diplomatic corps, of the public and private sectors and of society at large — made the following statement and asked that it be directed to the General Assembly during its consideration of the item on measures to eliminate international terrorism.

> "Today all of the State authorities, political groups, religious denominations, private-sector organizations and foreign representatives posted in our country have joined us in this ecumenical celebration, through which we highlight once again the resolute support of the people and the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea for the people and the Government of the United States. We express our solidarity with the innocent victims of the terrorist attacks of 11 September and solemnly reiterate our most firm and resolute condemnation of terrorism.
>
> "Our personal — and painful — experience as a result of these tragic events, which have become a universal tragedy, and our proximity to them — because we happened to be visiting the United States with an important Government delegation at the time — makes it clear that these attacks, even if perpetrated against the United

States, are without a doubt a serious and collective affront against the values of freedom, peace, security and stability throughout the world.

"Furthermore, these terrorist attacks constitute an unprecedented threat against the ideals and principles that Equatorial Guinea shares with other peoples on this planet that devote their greatest efforts to ensuring dignity and progress for human beings, who must benefit from the progress of modern science and technology, not become its victims.

"Although the United States has been the main target of these terrorist attacks, we must recall nonetheless that among its victims were nationals of more than a third of the States Members of the United Nations.

"As a result, we have met here not only to express our solidarity with the United States, but also to reflect together and to become fully aware of the fact that, with these terrorist attacks, what is at stake is freedom and the survival of humankind as a whole.

"In this time of veritable upheaval in international peace and security, Equatorial Guinea is fully aware of the fact that — at the beginning of this twenty-first century — for the world, for civilization and for our peoples, these terrorist acts represent the greatest challenge we have faced since the end of the two world wars and the fall of the Berlin Wall. It brings home the sad reality that if we do not act decisively and in a concerted manner, we will be experiencing the beginning of global developments that could lead the planet to its own self-destruction.

"As a result, with respect to what was said by President Bush during his recent speech before the United States Congress in which he referred to the need for a world coalition against terrorism, I would add that, in the face of terrorism, either all of the peoples of the world come together within the framework of coherent and concerted action, or we will all inexorably succumb to its sadistic and inhuman plan, which takes no account of races or borders.

"From this perspective — as I said when I returned from the United States — I am in favour of a large-scale consultation at the global level and of a vigorous and exemplary response to terrorism, with a view to the global and definitive defeat of that barbaric phenomenon and to freeing ourselves from its scourge.

"Beginning on the very day of 11 September, Equatorial Guinea, under the leadership of my Government, has adopted and continues to adopt measures and strategies requiring its cooperation and participation in contributing to the efforts of the international community in the long and difficult battle that must be engaged to eradicate terrorism from the world, within the framework of the relevant resolutions and mechanisms of the United Nations, the African Union and the Economic Community of Central African States, as well as all current international anti-terrorism conventions."

(*spoke in French*)

In this context and at the Central African level, the President of the Republic, Mr. Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, addressed a message to his counterparts in the subregion, in which he said:

"The terrorist attacks of 11 September in New York and Washington, D.C., have threatened international peace and security.

"As a result, Central Africa, which is devoted to the principles of solidarity, peace and stability and is concerned by these disturbing events, intends to contribute resolutely, through a coordinated strategy, to the efforts of the international community in the fight against terrorism, above and beyond measures undertaken by each State of the subregion.

"This coordination, which could lead to a declaration on a common Central African position, will allow the current Chairman of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to express his support and that of the heads of State of the subregion for the fight against terrorism, as well as their devotion to peace and stability in the subregion and throughout the world, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Treaty establishing the ECCAS and with the principles of the African Union on terrorism, peace, security and stability, which were reiterated at the summit of heads of

State in Lomé last year and most recently in Lusaka."

(*spoke in Spanish*)

In conclusion, we express the hope that our discussions, especially on this matter, will continue under the principle of the force of argument, rather than that of the argument of force.

The President: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 12th plenary meeting on 1 October 2001, I call on the observer of Switzerland.

Mr. Staehelin (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): As this is the first time that my country is speaking at this session, allow me, Sir, to convey the heartfelt congratulations of Switzerland on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session. I can assure you of my delegation's full support throughout this session.

The attacks in the United States of America on 11 September are a tragedy that transcends human understanding. They are expressions of criminal violence of unprecedented horror.

On behalf of the Swiss Government and of all the people of Switzerland, I wish to express to the American people our most heartfelt sense of solidarity and friendship in this tragic ordeal. Our thoughts go to all the victims, their families and friends. We owe esteem and recognition to all those who have committed themselves so courageously and without the least hesitation to the difficult and dangerous rescue operation.

This tragedy has profoundly shocked the Swiss people. It has intolerably wounded a sister republic with which we share fundamental values. The events in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania affect us all. Although the scourge of terrorism may seem elusive, the international community is neither powerless nor defenceless. However, the effectiveness of its response depends on our unity and determination, because terrorism can be successfully countered only through considered and collective action.

This action must be based on law and on the fundamental principles that govern our democratic societies. Terrorists want to use violence to destroy the rule of law. We must not fall into the trap that they have set for us. With vision and steadfastness, our societies — which are founded on tolerance and openness — must commit themselves to the struggle against this scourge. This effort will require all those present in this Assembly to join forces. Because of its universal character and its ability to respond to global challenges, the United Nations is called upon to be the driving force in this campaign — a role that comes naturally to it.

In adopting resolution 1373 (2001), the Security Council has set the general direction of action. The Swiss Government welcomes that resolution and takes this opportunity to express its strong determination to join in the shared effort. It is already participating fully.

Switzerland has long been concerned with the fight against international terrorism. It has made action in this area a priority at both the international and national levels. Switzerland is applying the sanctions that have been imposed by the Security Council with the aim of combating the threat to peace and security posed by terrorism. In particular, it has fully and unconditionally implemented and applied resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000).

Switzerland is party to the international instruments on this issue that have been agreed within both the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Switzerland has signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in June. Although that Convention has not yet come into effect, we have started the ratification process with the aim of bringing it into effect as soon as possible. We also intend to become party to the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings in the near future.

Switzerland has also contributed actively to discussions within the United Nations on the drafting of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. It will participate in all activities concerned with future anti-terrorism instruments.

Finally, in addition to the specific multilateral and regional anti-terrorism instruments to which it is bound, Switzerland has established a network of bilateral treaties on mutual assistance in judicial and extradition matters with the aim of increasing our ability to prevent and suppress all forms of crime, including terrorism.

At the domestic level, we have a range of laws that serve actively to suppress terrorism. On 3 July, the Secretary-General published a report on measures aimed at eradicating international terrorism, which was compiled on the basis of information submitted by a number of States. It describes in exhaustive detail the measures that Switzerland has taken, as well as the laws and regulations which it has adopted concerning the prevention and suppression of acts of international terrorism.

It must be emphasized that Switzerland has a law on international mutual assistance in criminal matters which permits it — even in the absence of treaty agreements — to cooperate with all other States. Moreover, Switzerland is one of the few States to make use of the "immediate transmission of information". By this means, information obtained in investigations conducted in Switzerland can be transmitted to a foreign authority and used in investigations conducted abroad. Finally, Switzerland is able to take very rapid provisional measures. For example, it can order the freezing of bank accounts as soon as a foreign authority requests such cooperation. These measures are critical when the need arises to block financial transactions that benefit terrorist organizations, and they help to prevent the abuse of Swiss financial institutions by terrorist groups.

In this context, please allow me to be absolutely clear on one last point: Swiss banking secrecy laws have never protected and will never protect terrorists or their financial transactions. The banks are bound by criminal law — and this, of course, covers terrorism — to provide full information to the judicial authorities. Switzerland provides effective and prompt international cooperation in criminal matters, in particular, by blocking the relevant accounts and deposits. Moreover, Swiss banks are obliged to report to the authorities any justifiable suspicions they have concerning transactions related to organized crime and terrorism. There is no banking secrecy when it comes to the fight against terrorism.

It is of fundamental importance that we work together with the greatest determination to combat the scourge of terrorism. Terrorism threatens all of us and together we must make sure that it is defeated. There is no justification whatsoever for acts such as those committed on 11 September. However, the recourse to force alone will not suffice to eliminate terrorism. In the long term, there exists no other way to ensure international security and to prevent such despicable acts than to reinforce international cooperation with a view to eradicating poverty, preventing and resolving conflicts and effectively promoting human rights and the rule of law. To this end, the international community must act more decisively than ever.

The worldwide reaction to the abominable acts to which we were all witness must prompt us to pursue the fight against terrorism without respite. We must do so in memory of the victims. We must do so to preserve the primacy of law over force, and for the blossoming of our democratic societies.

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX), of 10 October 1975, I now call on the observer for the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. Lamani (Organization of the Islamic Conference): I would like at the outset to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at this session. We have full confidence that the work of this Assembly will be successful under your wise leadership.

In the press statements made by its Secretary-General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has condemned the criminal terrorist attacks perpetrated against the United States on 11 September 2001. They were completely against all human values, creeds and religions, prominent among which is Islam, which values the sanctity of human life and holds that whoever unjustly kills one soul kills all people. We must emphasize here that Islam is innocent of all forms of terrorism and strongly condemns those who perpetrated these horrendous crimes in the name of Islam, regardless of how they attempt to justify their acts. The OIC has continually denounced all forms of terrorism in accordance with the moral and human principles in which its member States believe. Those principles have roots in the sublime religions, legacies and traditions of these States, all of which call for eliminating all forms of injustice, aggression and intolerance.

Terrorism threatens the life of innocent people and their property, violates the sovereignty of States and constitutes a danger for the rights of people. On the basis of the international consensus to fight terrorism in all its forms and to put an end to its causes, the

Secretary-General of the OIC supports the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which were adopted unanimously, and urges the member States of the OIC to continue to work positively towards the implementation of those resolutions. The emergency ministerial meeting of the OIC, to be held in Doha, Qatar, on 10 October, is a form of support for international efforts to combat terrorism. In this connection, we established an OIC treaty to combat international terrorism, which was adopted by the Foreign Ministers of OIC member States at their twenty-sixth session, in Burkina Faso, in 1999. That treaty calls upon member States, inter alia, to refrain from providing any form of assistance or support to terrorists, including shelter or financial support.

The Security Council and the General Assembly have issued a number of important resolutions calling for an end to the scourge of terrorism. These resolutions, in addition to the many resolutions adopted by regional organizations — among which is the organization I have the honour of representing here — attempt to establish an international framework under the auspices of the United Nations. The resolutions take a united stance on international terrorism and are conducive to respect for international laws and the purposes and principles that all humanity agreed to in the Charter of the United Nations.

We all know that there are many problems at the international level. The spread of extremism and terrorist acts all over the world have underscored the fact that all forms of terrorism are one and the same and therefore should not be tolerated. We have to emphasize here that extremism, violence and terrorism are international phenomena; they are not limited to a specific people, race or religion. The international community is one community, based on multiculturalism, multiple religions and multiple ideologies. This pluralism should not undermine the unity of the international community. International relations should be based on the positive coexistence of States and on a joint appreciation of the different contributions and achievements of different societies.

Since the end of the cold war, some have spoken about conflict between civilizations. Some are still talking about that idea. The issue is one of significance for the whole of humanity and its future. Convinced of the importance of a dialogue among civilizations, Islamic countries were the first to present a draft resolution on the subject to the Assembly.

In condemning terrorism, we should also condemn any attempt to blur the distinction between terrorism and the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial rule or foreign occupation. The struggle of such people to achieve national liberation and self-determination, in accordance with the principles of international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, does not constitute terrorism. In this context, we reaffirm our support for the holding of an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to define terrorism; to distinguish between terrorism and the rights of people to resist foreign occupation and achieve national liberation; and to take all measures to eradicate terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

As members of the international community, we must continue with this effort against terrorism and ensure that we do not approach this very dangerous phenomenon with double standards. We should continue our worthwhile attempt to support the dialogue between civilizations. We should be responsible enough to face up to any attempt to create discord, disunity and hatred between peoples. We should all support coexistence and cooperation between different peoples and cultures as a basis of that dialogue.

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 48/265 of 24 August 1994, I now call on the Observer for the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

Mr. Linati-Bosch (Sovereign Military Order of Malta): I would first like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, on your election as President of the General Assembly during its fifty-sixth session. I am sure that your excellent qualifications and strong commitment will ensure the efficacy of our work at such a difficult time.

The Order of Malta condemns terrorism in all its manifestations. We felt as though we were living in a nightmare when, on the morning of 11 September, New York and Washington became the victims of criminal acts. It is true that, after 11 September, no one feels safe from terrorism. However, I would like to condemn not only the attack of 11 September, but all the manifestations of terrorism, violence and intolerance

that convulse our world. International terrorism defies international security, and, in consequence, the international community has the right to defend itself in accordance with international public law.

We cannot consider what happened in New York and Washington as isolated incidents. The excellent report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, and his report on measures to eliminate international terrorism, mentioned many geographical areas where peace and human rights are violated, and there is no need for me to list them all again. Security Council resolution 1368 (2001) reaffirmed the right to collective self-defence. That resolution, adopted on 12 September, and the General Assembly resolution adopted on the same day, constitute the starting point for the prevention and suppression of terrorist activities, wherever they appear. Effective measures must be adopted if we are not to succumb to terror, intolerance, fanaticism and fear but, on the contrary, to build a stable system of morals and civic honour.

We hear the word "globalization" every day. We must be aware that terrorism signifies the globalization of fear and contempt for international law, humanitarian law and the law of conventions. This is a transgression that cannot remain without an adequate response, and it involves the responsibility of all of us.

We know that sovereignty signifies independence from any other subject of international law and, in consequence, we must consider that it is the duty of every country to fight terrorism in its own territory and, at the same time, to participate in international action against international terrorism. Let there be no more sanctuaries for terrorists.

One activity of the Order of Malta is especially disrupted by terrorism. I am referring to its humanitarian activity and to the difficulties that its humanitarian personnel face in the accomplishment of their mission when taking part in peacekeeping operations — difficulties that, on some occasions, hinder their presence even when this presence is requested by national Governments or international entities. We are in favour of the protection of civilians in armed conflicts, but it must be acknowledged that duly accredited humanitarian personnel also merit effective protection when their presence has been requested or authorized.

The United Nations is the best representation of the international community, and as such it is the responsibility of the Organization, working together with States, regional organizations, communities, other entities and even individuals, to lead the fight against all transnational crime. In this regard, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta expresses its commitment to collaborate and to share responsibility in the struggle against terrorism.

The President: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 166.

We have had an unusually long, but important and constructive, debate during the past five days. It was unprecedented in the history of the United Nations for 167 Member States and 4 observers to participate in a debate on a single agenda item. This fact alone eloquently demonstrates how seriously all Member States, and the whole international community, regard the acts of terrorism that took place on 11 September. We did so because we all believed that they were not only attacks on the United States, but assaults on the whole civilized world.

As we all know, the agenda item 166, entitled "Measures to eliminate international terrorism" has long been on the agenda of the Sixth Committee. However, in the light of the importance and urgency of the issue in the aftermath of the tragedy of 11 September, we decided that the debate on this item should be held in plenary meeting while consideration of the technical aspects of the item remain within the purview of the Sixth Committee.

Before our debate began, we had an invaluable opportunity to listen to Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York, our host city, who gave us a very clear perspective on the terrorist attacks and conveyed the expectations that United States citizens, particularly the citizens of New York, have of the United Nations at this critical time. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mayor Giuliani once again and offer our very best wishes for our host city's speedy recovery.

During our deliberations, all participants joined wholeheartedly in condemning the terrorist attacks of 11 September, reaffirming resolution 56/1 of 12 September 2001, in which the General Assembly condemned these attacks in the strongest terms and called for international cooperation to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of the outrages.

Member States voiced the view that international terrorism constitutes a threat to international peace and security, as well as a crime against humanity. Undoubtedly, international terrorism is one of the formidable challenges to the world community in the twenty-first century, and the United Nations should play the key role in intensifying international efforts to eliminate such terrorism.

In this regard, I wish to recall that the General Assembly has taken important steps, by adopting in 1994 the Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism and by adopting its supplementary Declaration in 1996. The Security Council has also taken initiatives, such as the adoption of resolutions 1269 (1999) of 19 October 1999, 1368 (2001) of 12 September 2001 and 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001, which not only condemned all forms of terrorism but also specified measures to be taken by Member States to prevent and suppress terrorist acts.

Member States recognized the urgency of dealing with all forms and manifestations of international terrorism and those who harbour and support the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of international terrorism. They stressed the need to enhance international cooperation and to promptly take all necessary measures to prevent and suppress terrorist activities.

Member States concurred in the view that a primary task facing the international community at present is to ensure that an effective legal framework for the prevention and elimination of international terrorism is in place. To this end, I call upon all Member States that have not yet done so to become, as a matter of priority, parties to the existing international conventions relating to terrorism. In this context, it is noteworthy that the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice recently adopted the revised draft action plan for the implementation of the Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice. Many Member States also expressed their intention to take necessary measures to implement international conventions within their domestic jurisdiction.

I would like to take this opportunity to urge Member States to accelerate the work of the General Assembly, with a view to the early conclusion of the pending conventions on international terrorism, in order to enhance the capacity of the international community to combat terrorism. As President of the General Assembly, I also kindly request the Sixth Committee to expedite its work and submit its report to the General Assembly as early as possible, preferably by 15 November 2001.

Finally, I recall that during our debate Member States shared the view that the international community should resolve to fight terrorism as a phenomenon separate from any religion or ethnic group. In this regard, the necessity for dialogue among civilizations was stressed. Also, some representatives suggested a high-level conference on international terrorism, while some others called upon the international community to address the root causes of terrorism. At the same time, the need for a clearer definition of terrorism was raised for our further consideration.

Our week-long deliberation was instrumental in reaffirming the central role of the United Nations in dealing with global, high-profile issues such as international terrorism. It is my sincere hope that the United Nations and the international community will take further necessary measures to combat international terrorism, building on the deliberations we have had for the last five days.

We have thus concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 166.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

United Nations A/56/PV.23

General Assembly
Fifty-sixth session

Official Records

23rd plenary meeting
Monday, 8 October 2001, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Agenda item 15

Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs

(a) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

The President: The General Assembly will now proceed to the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council to replace those members whose term of office expires on 31 December 2001.

The five outgoing non-permanent members are the following: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Mali, Tunisia and Ukraine. Those five States cannot be re-elected, and therefore their names should not appear on the ballot papers.

Apart from the five permanent members, the Security Council will include in 2002 the following States: Colombia, Ireland, Mauritius, Norway and Singapore. The names of those States, therefore, should also not appear on the ballot papers.

Of the five non-permanent members which will remain in office in 2002, two are from Africa and Asia, one is from Latin America and the Caribbean and two are from Western European and other States.

Consequently, pursuant to paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1991 A (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the five non-permanent members should be elected according to the following pattern: three from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe and one from Latin America and the Caribbean. The ballot papers reflect that pattern.

In accordance with established practice, there is an understanding to the effect that, of the three States to be elected from Africa and Asia, two should be from Africa and one from Asia.

I should like to inform the Assembly that those candidates, their number not exceeding the number of seats to be filled, which receive the greatest number of votes and a two-thirds majority of members present and voting will be declared elected.

In the case of a tie vote for a remaining seat, there will be a restricted ballot limited to those candidates which have obtained an equal number of votes.

May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

The President: In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election shall be held by secret ballot and there shall be no nominations.

Regarding candidatures, I have been informed by the Chairmen of the relevant regional groups of the following.

For the three vacant seats from among the African and Asian States, there are three endorsed candidates: Cameroon, Guinea and the Syrian Arab Republic.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

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For the Eastern European States, there are two candidates for one vacant seat: Belarus and Bulgaria.

As for the Latin American and Caribbean States, there are also two candidates for one vacant seat: the Dominican Republic and Mexico.

In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, we shall proceed now to the election by secret ballot.

Before we begin the voting process, I should like to remind members that, pursuant to rule 88 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order on the actual conduct of the voting.

I should like to seek the usual cooperation of representatives during the conduct of the election. I remind representatives that during the voting process all campaigning should cease in the General Assembly Hall. That means, in particular, that once the meeting has begun, no more campaign material may be distributed inside the Hall. All representatives are also requested to remain in their seats so that the voting process can proceed in an orderly manner. I thank members for their cooperation.

We shall now begin the voting process.

Ballot papers marked "A", "B" and "C" will now be distributed.

I request representatives to use only those ballot papers that have been distributed and to write on them the names of the five States for which they wish to vote.

A ballot paper containing more names from the relevant region than the number of seats assigned to it will be declared invalid. Names of Member States on a ballot paper that do not belong to that region will not be counted.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Holliday (Australia), Mr. Unaibayev (Kazakhstan), Mr. Cardy (South Africa) and Ms. Ramoutar (Trinidad and Tobago) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 10.30 a.m. and resumed at 11.45 a.m.

The President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Group A — African and Asian States

Number of ballot papers:	178
Number of invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	177
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	177
Required two-thirds majority:	118
Number of votes obtained:	
Guinea	173
Cameroon	172
Syrian Arab Republic	160

Group B — Eastern European States

Number of ballot papers:	178
Number of invalid ballots:	3
Number of valid ballots:	175
Abstentions:	2
Number of members voting:	173
Required two-thirds majority:	116
Number of votes obtained:	
Bulgaria	120
Belarus	53

Group C — Latin American and Caribbean States

Number of ballot papers:	178
Number of invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	177
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	177
Required two-thirds majority:	118
Number of votes obtained:	
Mexico	116
Dominican Republic	60
Dominica	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, the following States were elected members of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning 1 January 2002: Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea and Syrian Arab Republic.

The President: I congratulate the States that have been elected members of the Security Council.

There remains one seat to be filled from among the Latin American and Caribbean States.

We shall therefore proceed to the first restricted ballot.

The second round of balloting shall be restricted to the two States from among the Latin American and Caribbean States that were not elected but that obtained the largest number of votes in the previous ballot,

namely the Dominican Republic and Mexico. That is in accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure.

Before we begin the voting process, I should like to remind members that, pursuant to rule 88 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order on the actual conduct of the voting.

We shall now begin the voting process.

Ballot papers marked "C" will now be distributed.

May I ask representatives to write on the ballot papers marked "C", for the Latin American and Caribbean States, the name of the one State for which they wish to vote.

Ballot papers marked "C" will be declared invalid if they contain the name of a State other than the Dominican Republic or Mexico, as well as if they contain the names of more than one State.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Holliday (Australia), Mr. Unaibayev (Kazakhstan), Mr. Cardy (South Africa) and Ms. Ramoutar (Trinidad and Tobago) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 12 noon and resumed at 12.15 p.m.

Mr. Gounaris (Greece), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The Acting President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Group C — Latin American and Caribbean States

Number of ballot papers:	178
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	178
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	178
Required two-thirds majority:	119
Number of votes obtained:	
Mexico	138
Dominican Republic	40

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Mexico was elected a member of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning 1 January 2002.

The Acting President: I congratulate Mexico, which has been elected a member of the Security Council, and I thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

The following five States have thus been elected members of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning 1 January 2002: Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic.

This concludes our consideration of sub-item (a) of agenda item 15.

Programme of work

The President: I should like to make an announcement concerning agenda item 20, entitled "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance".

I have requested His Excellency Mr. Hubert Wurth, Permanent Representative of Luxembourg to the United Nations, who during the previous session so ably conducted the informal consultations on draft resolutions under that agenda item, to assist once again in the same capacity at this session. Ambassador Wurth has graciously accepted.

I request those delegations intending to submit draft resolutions under agenda item 20 to do so as early as possible in order to allow time, if need be, for negotiations, with a view to reaching consensus on the draft resolutions.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

United Nations A/56/PV.24

General Assembly

Fifty-sixth session

Official Records

24th plenary meeting
Friday, 12 October 2001, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Sharma (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Statements on the occasion of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations and its Secretary-General

The Acting President: Today is a momentous day. We are all thrilled that our Organization and the Secretary-General have been awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize.

I now have the honour to read a message from the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Han Seung-soo, who is currently in Seoul, Korea. His message is addressed to the United Nations and Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the occasion of the Nobel Committee's announcement that the Nobel Peace Prize will be awarded to the United Nations and Secretary-General Kofi Annan. It reads:

> "It is with great pleasure that I extend my heartfelt congratulations, on behalf of the whole United Nations membership, to our Organization, the United Nations, and its Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, on their winning of the Nobel Peace Prize this year. This is a well-deserved honour for all the Member States of the United Nations as well as for the entire staff of the Secretariat.
>
> "As members of the United Nations family, we all feel proud that during the last half century the United Nations has always been at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security as well as the prosperity and development of mankind. This prize is a recognition of not only the achievements of the United Nations in serving the world community, but also of that of the thousands of United Nations staff members led by the Secretary-General who work with such dedication and often in perilous circumstances to make this world a better and safer place. At the same time, I believe this award will serve to encourage all of us to make further efforts to accomplish our mandates for humanity.
>
> "This Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the United Nations and Secretary-General Kofi Annan is most fitting, as we are facing formidable challenges such as poverty, terrorism, drug abuse, environmental degradation and HIV/AIDS.
>
> "My special and warmest congratulations go to Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in particular. I truly believe that all of us in the United Nations owe him a large debt of gratitude for his outstanding leadership and services at this critical time in history, of which the Nobel Peace Prize is a most fitting and timely recognition.
>
> "Finally, I sincerely hope that the international community will view this award not just as recognition of past achievement but, more importantly, as a beacon illuminating the way

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forward for the United Nations as it rises to confront new challenges."

Before I invite the Secretary-General to take the floor, may I also add my own voice. I am thrilled that you, Mr. Secretary-General, and our Organization, which you lead, have been awarded the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize. It is a recognition of your personal dedication and contribution to promoting peace, development, justice and human rights, often in trying circumstances, and of the United Nations ability to rise to the challenges, old and new, to make the world a better place to live in for every man and woman around the world. Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, my hearty congratulations on this momentous occasion of recognition so fittingly awarded to you and to the United Nations under your leadership.

I now invite the Secretary-General to say a few words.

The Secretary-General: The decision of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee is truly an honour for the whole of the United Nations, which means of course all of its Member States and this Assembly, which represents them. It is also an honour for all parts of the Organization and, above all, for its dedicated staff around the world. They work hard every day to make the world a more just, a more peaceful and a happier place. Many of them risk their lives, and they richly deserve this award.

A year ago, your heads of State and Government reaffirmed at the Millennium Summit the indispensable role of the United Nations as a common house of the entire human family. Now the Nobel Committee has used this prize, in its own words,

> "to proclaim that the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations".

In a world that is growing ever closer and more interconnected, and yet is still torn by brutal conflicts and cruel injustice, it is more important than ever that humanity travel that route and that all of us work hard to pave the road ahead of it.

All of us who work at the United Nations should feel proud today, but also humble, because even more will be expected of us in the future. This award is a tribute, above all, to our colleagues who have made the supreme sacrifice in the service of humanity. The only true prize for them and for us will be peace itself.

The Acting President: I now call on the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to say a few words on behalf of the Group of African States.

Mr. Erwa (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): I am indeed overwhelmed to be standing here on this momentous day to express, on behalf of my brothers in the Group of African States, our sincere congratulations to our Organization and to a distinguished son of Africa — and, indeed, of the world — Mr. Kofi Annan.

The decision on this award has come at a very opportune time, when the United Nations is facing considerable challenges. This distinguished son of Africa and of the world, Mr. Kofi Annan, assumed the leadership of our Organization at a time when the ship was sailing through rough seas. We have witnessed his competence, his perspicacity and his wisdom in steering this ship during these critical times, which are becoming even more critical and more challenging. Therefore, we find that the selection of the United Nations and the Secretary-General for this prize represents a great moral support for and recognition of each and every one of us in our pursuit of the right path and the right choices.

Mr. Secretary-General, we congratulate ourselves and we congratulate you. In conclusion, I would say that the prize itself is honoured by dint of its having been given to you, because, as you said, though we feel proud we also feel humble. We have known you to be a humble person, and we pray to God Almighty to help you in your future tasks.

The Acting President: I now invite the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka to make a statement on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. De Saram (Sri Lanka): Today is for all of us a most moving and profound occasion. On behalf of all the members of the Asian Group, I have the great honour to convey to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, of whom we are all so deeply proud, and to the United Nations and its Member States, the most profound congratulations on this unique honour that has today been bestowed on all of us. It is indeed full of hope, full of encouragement and full of promise for the long years ahead when we shall all need to come together and work together towards peace.

The Acting President: I now call on the representative of Georgia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. Volski (Georgia): Mr. Secretary-General, I present the congratulations of the Group of Eastern European States. This is an honour, a great pleasure and an even greater responsibility at this moment when the world is praising the United Nations and your personal input in bringing peace and relief to those who are suffering.

The Nobel Prize should encourage all of us to serve the United Nations ideals better than ever and with stronger commitment. Congratulations again.

The Acting President: I call now on the Permanent Representative of Haiti, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

Mr. Lelong (Haiti) *(spoke in French)*: Mr. Secretary-General, it is with particular emotion that, on behalf of the member countries of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, I express to you our congratulations on the rare honour that has been bestowed on you this morning — you and our Organization as well.

I cannot fail to express our collective view that, as of today, the history of the world could not be written without constant references to the history of the United Nations and the part that you have played in making this Organization an instrument for peace and development.

Once again, may I express to you our congratulations.

The Acting President: I call now on the representative of Ireland, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States.

Mr. Gardner (Ireland): It is a great honour for me, on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States, to extend our congratulations to the United Nations and to the Secretary-General on winning the Nobel Prize for Peace. The prize is a clear reflection of the esteem in which the United Nations and the Secretary-General are held. It is also a tribute to the work of the Organization, which always faces a range of formidable tasks. The prize should encourage all of us to continue our efforts.

The Acting President: I call now on the representative of the United States of America as host country.

Ms. Marcus (United States of America): I am most grateful for the opportunity to address the General Assembly for the first time on this historic day. On behalf of the host nation, I want to express heartiest congratulations on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and to the United Nations. That award is richly deserved for the efficacious role the United Nations has played in the maintenance of international peace and security for more than 50 years.

The events of the past month made that indispensable contribution abundantly clear. I want to tell the Secretary-General, on behalf of the people of the United States, how very grateful we are, and how deeply we have been touched by his words and his deeds in these extraordinary times.

We share in the joy of this House today, and especially want to recognize the Secretary-General's unique and invaluable leadership. He has made us deeply, deeply proud.

Agenda item 15 *(continued)*

Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs

(c) Election of a member of the International Court of Justice

Memorandum by the Secretary-General (A/56/372)

List of nominations (A/56/373 and Add.1)

Curriculum vitae (A/56/374 and Corr.1 and 2)

The President: The General Assembly will proceed to the election of a member of the International Court of Justice for the unexpired term of office of Judge and former President Mohammed Bedjaoui, whose resignation took effect on 30 September 2001.

In connection with this election, I should like to bring the following matters to the attention of the members of the General Assembly.

First, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 264 (III) of 8 October 1948, a State which is a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, but not a Member of the United Nations, shall participate in the General Assembly in electing the

members of the Court in the same manner as the States Members of the United Nations. Therefore, on this occasion, the representative of Switzerland may participate in the election.

Secondly, I should like to confirm that, at this time, the Security Council, independently of the General Assembly, is also proceeding to elect one member of the Court. This procedure is in accordance with article 8 of the Statute of the Court, which provides that

> "The General Assembly and the Security Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect the members of the Court."

Accordingly, the results of the voting in the General Assembly will not be communicated to the Security Council until one candidate has obtained the required majority in the Assembly.

Thirdly, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the documents relating to the election. The Assembly has before it document A/56/372, which contains a memorandum by the Secretary-General on the present composition of the Court and on the procedure to be followed in the General Assembly and in the Security Council with regard to the election; and documents A/56/373, which contains the list of nominations of candidates by national groups within the required time for submission, that is, by 12 September 2001, and A/56/373/Add.1, which informs of the withdrawal of one candidate. With reference to the list of nominations of candidates by national groups contained in document A/56/373, I would like to inform the Assembly that, subsequently, the Secretariat was informed that the Italian national group nominated Mr. Nabil Elaraby as a candidate.

The Assembly also has before it documents A/56/374, A/56/374/Corr.1 in Arabic only, and A/56/374/Corr.2, which contain the curricula vitae of the candidates nominated by national groups.

In accordance with article 10, paragraph 1, of the Statute of the Court, the candidate who obtains an absolute majority of votes in both the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered elected.

The consistent practice of the United Nations has been to interpret the words "absolute majority" as meaning a majority of all electors, whether or not they vote or are allowed to vote. The electors in the General Assembly are all 189 Member States, plus the one non-Member State which is a party to the Statute of the Court, namely Switzerland, for a total of 190 electors. Accordingly, for the present election, 96 votes constitute an absolute majority in the General Assembly.

The General Assembly will now proceed to a secret ballot. If in the first ballot no candidate obtains an absolute majority, it will be necessary to proceed to other ballots until a candidate has obtained the required majority. Pursuant to the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 915th meeting, on 16 November 1960, these ballots shall be unrestricted.

May I take it that the Assembly agrees to the procedures I have just outlined?

It was so decided.

The Acting President: I should like to remind representatives that, pursuant to rule 88 of the Assembly's rules of procedure,

> "After the President has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connection with the actual conduct of the voting."

We shall now begin the voting process. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

Representatives are requested to use only the ballot papers that are now being distributed, and to place a cross to the left of the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote. Votes may be cast only for the candidate whose name appears on the ballot papers.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bijou (Costa Rica), Ms. Vassallo (Malta), Ms. Prokop (Poland) and Ms. Lim (Singapore) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 11.15 a.m. and resumed at 11.40 a.m.

The Acting President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	174
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	174
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	174
Required absolute majority:	96
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Nabil Elaraby (Egypt)	124
Mr. Francis Romain Wodie (Côte d'Ivoire)	50

Mr. Nabil Elaraby has obtained an absolute majority in the General Assembly.

I have communicated the result of the voting to the President of the Security Council.

I have received from the President of the Security Council the following letter:

> "I have the honour to inform you that at the 4389th meeting of the Security Council, held on 12 October 2001 for the purpose of electing a member of the International Court of Justice for a term of office to expire on 5 February 2006, Mr. Nabil Elaraby obtained an absolute majority of votes."

As a result of the independent voting in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, Mr. Nabil Elaraby has obtained an absolute majority in both organs. He is therefore duly elected a member of the International Court of Justice, to serve for a term of office commencing today, 12 October 2001, and ending on 5 February 2006. I take this opportunity to extend to him the congratulations of the Assembly on his election and to thank the tellers for their assistance.

We have thus concluded this stage of our consideration of sub-item (c) of agenda item 15.

Programme of work

The Acting President: I should like to inform members of the following additions to the programme of work of the General Assembly.

On Monday, 15 October 2001, in the morning, the General Assembly will take up, as the first item, agenda item 7, "Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations".

On Monday, 22 October 2001, in the morning, the General Assembly will take up, as the third item, agenda item 17 (h), "Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments: appointment of members of the Committee on Conferences".

On Thursday, 1 November 2001, in the morning, the General Assembly will take up agenda item 17 (g), "Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments: appointment of members of the Joint Inspection Unit".

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

United Nations A/56/PV.25

General Assembly
Fifty-sixth session

Official Records

25th plenary meeting
Monday, 15 October 2001, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Sharma (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Agenda item 7

Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations

Note by the Secretary-General (A/56/366)

The Acting President: As members are aware, in accordance with the provisions of 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations, and with the consent of the Security Council, the Secretary-General is mandated to notify the General Assembly of matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security that are being dealt with by the Security Council and of matters with which the Council has ceased to deal.

In this connection, the General Assembly has before it a note by the Secretary-General issued as document A/56/366.

May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that document?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 11

Report of the Security Council (A/56/2)

The Acting President: I now invite the President of the Security Council, His Excellency Mr. Richard Ryan, to introduce the report of the Security Council.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): I am honoured to introduce to the General Assembly the annual report of the Security Council, covering the period from 16 June 2000 to 15 June 2001. The report shows clearly the range of issues considered by the Council, and the intensity of the work programme undertaken in the year under review. Altogether, in the reporting period, the Council held 173 formal meetings, adopted 52 resolutions and issued 35 statements by the President.

Consistent with its primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council gave particular attention during the year to issues relating to the settlement of regional conflicts and conflict situations generally.

With regard to Africa, the Security Council gave extensive consideration to the situations in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Burundi, Liberia, Angola, Somalia, Western Sahara and Rwanda, and the situation in Guinea following attacks along its borders with Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Council also examined the general situation of the countries of West Africa in the light of the report of the United Nations Inter-Agency Mission visit to the region. In addition, the Security

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Council met at the level of heads of State and Government on 7 September 2000 to discuss the need to ensure an effective role for the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa.

The situations in the Middle East, East Timor, Afghanistan and the Balkans were also the subject of consideration by the Council.

Extensive consideration has been given to the situation in Iraq.

Attention was also given by the Council to broader peace and security issues, including children and armed conflict, women and peace and security, peace-building, the protection of civilians in armed conflict, HIV/AIDS, and international peacekeeping operations. The Council also addressed the issue of the prevention of armed conflict in the light of the report of the Secretary-General.

The Security Council has also contributed more generally to the enhancement of peacekeeping through the adoption of resolution 1327 (2000) of 13 November 2000, and resolution 1353 (2001) of 13 June 2001.

During the year in question, the Security Council continued to strengthen further its working methods and procedures. This includes obtaining better information through field missions; the use of special missions by the Council; direct contacts with parties involved in situations before the Council, including through meetings with the Council; as well as closer liaison with United Nations troop-contributor countries, following up its resolution 1353 (2001) of 13 June 2001. The Council also took steps to improve its procedures and those of its committees for sanctions.

The Security Council made particular efforts in the year under review to conduct its business in as transparent a manner as possible. In particular, many public meetings and briefings were held with the participation of the wider membership of the United Nations.

The members of the Security Council hope that this report will provide useful information on the activities of the Council during the year under review. They attach great importance to the consideration of this report by the General Assembly as a significant part of the dialogue between the two principal bodies of the United Nations. The members of the Security Council look forward to the comments and suggestions of Member States in the course of today's discussion.

The members of the Security Council will be reviewing the format and the structure of the annual report in the upcoming months, and they will consider any suggestions made in the course of this debate. Conclusions reached in that review will be reflected in next year's report.

Let me conclude by expressing the appreciation of the Security Council members to the staff of the Security Council secretariat for their commitment, professionalism and tireless efforts on behalf of the Security Council. Their work, as always, remains indispensable to the efficiency of the work of the Security Council.

Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me first to thank Ambassador Richard Ryan, Permanent Representative of Ireland and President of the Security Council for the month of October, for his introduction of the report of the Council for the year to 15 June 2001.

The consideration of this report is taking place at an extraordinary moment. Only three days ago the Nobel Peace Prize Committee decided to award that high distinction to the Secretary-General and the United Nations as a whole for their efforts to achieve international peace and security, as well as for their leadership in confronting the economic, social and environmental challenges that face humankind. There is no doubt that the Security Council has contributed substantially to making the Organization worthy of such recognition.

The Security Council is currently the international community's only legitimate mechanism to respond to armed conflicts and humanitarian crises of such gravity that they constitute threats to peace. Consequently, the Council's work in maintaining international peace and security is vital to the future of mankind. As wisely proclaimed by the Nobel Prize Committee, the United Nations is the only path to global peace and cooperation.

Nevertheless, the path to peace is full of obstacles. At this moment, all of our peoples and nations are living under the shadow of international terrorism. The despicable criminal acts of 11 September have raised international terrorism to the top of the international agenda. It is therefore

impossible to assess the Security Council's work during the last year without considering its reaction to the attacks of 11 September and, in particular, its resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September.

Undoubtedly, resolution 1373 (2001) heralds a new era in international relations. For the first time in history, the Security Council has declared that a particular phenomenon — international terrorism — constitutes, in any circumstances, a threat to international peace and security. Also for the first time, the Security Council recognized the inherent right of self-defence against the activities of non-State actors, even when those actors are on the territory of third States. Furthermore, for the first time, and pursuant to its powers under the Charter, the Council imposed upon all States a series of obligations and general norms of conduct, of the kind usually reserved for international treaties, in order to fight against international terrorism. Unlike previous precedents, these mandatory measures were adopted without being linked to a particular situation or controversy and without provision for their termination. Moreover, the Council established a permanent committee, with broad powers, to monitor implementation of those measures. In short, for the first time in history, the Security Council enacted legislation for the rest of the international community.

My delegation welcomes the contents of that resolution. It constitutes a strong, proportionate and necessary response to the despicable criminal acts of 11 September 2001. Furthermore, my delegation warmly welcomes the renewed confidence in multilateral mechanisms and the extension of the Council's powers and areas of responsibility manifest in the resolution.

My delegation has for several years advocated such that very strengthening of the Security Council. We have pointed out that the Council is the only mechanism available to mankind in order to face the dangers that threaten it. Costa Rica questioned the Council when it renounced its mandate and had become irrelevant. We criticized it when it confined itself to weak and inadequate responses to the gravest political and humanitarian emergencies. We denounced it was unable to act due to the irresponsible use of the veto or the defence of selfish national interests by some of its members. We can therefore only congratulate the Council today on having unanimously adopted strong and clear-cut measures to face a crisis situation. Moreover, we expect the Security Council to act with the same firmness, promptness and efficacy when confronted by other crises or emergency situations in the future.

Resolution 1373 (2001) demonstrates the broad powers of the Security Council. In exercising its powers, however, the Council must act responsibly. In accordance with the provisions of the Charter, the Security Council acts on behalf of all Members of the United Nations. Its members, whether permanent or elected, represent equally all States Members of the Organization and they are, therefore, responsible to them. That is why it is essential for the Council to hold transparent and effective consultations with the other members of the international community when it adopts measures of far-reaching importance.

The Council's main goal in promoting international peace and security should be to guarantee full enjoyment of human rights and full respect for human dignity. Therefore, the Security Council should scrupulously strive to promote respect for fundamental rights. In this regard, when adopting measures such as those embodied in resolution 1371 (2001) in particular, the Security Council must keep in mind the obligations of States to act in accordance with the imperatives of international law.

In exercising its powers, the Security Council must bear in mind that the prohibition on the use of force is the cornerstone of the society of nations, and that it must continue to be so. We fear that if that prohibition were undermined, it would open the door to violence in international relations. We believe that, with the very limited exception of the right to self-defence, advance authorization from the Security Council is essential for any initiative that may require the use of force. Furthermore, we must be cautious in resorting to the inherent right to self-defence. That right is never absolute because it is limited by the principle of proportionality.

As we consider the report for the period 2000-2001, we must acknowledge that the work of the Council has yielded some very positive results, particularly in Timor and Kosovo. Not all of its efforts have been as successful, however. Did the Council take adequate steps to respond to the situation in Afghanistan? Today, the answer seems clear: it did not. Did the Security Council prohibit the transfer of arms to rebel or extremist groups? Regrettably, it did not. Did the Council take effective action to revitalize the

peace process in the Middle East? Unfortunately, it did not. Did it take appropriate steps to respond to the crisis in the Great Lakes region? Very little was done. Did it devote sufficient resources to the conflicts in West Africa? It does not appear to have done so. Was it able to find a solution to the situation regarding Iraq? Unfortunately, it was not. Did it adopt clear-cut measures to prevent future conflicts? It adopted just a few.

I would like to deal with that last issue, which was the subject of a public debate on 21 June this year and of resolution 1366 (2001), which was adopted on 30 August. The United Nations and the international community have an unshirkable moral obligation to prevent armed conflict and other threats to international peace and security. That obligation flows directly from the basic principles of solidarity and fraternity among all human beings. We cannot, therefore, continue to stand by as passive witnesses to countless cases of genocide, massacre and war.

History teaches us that genuine, lasting peace can be achieved only when decent living conditions have been ensured for all; when there is a sufficient level of economic development to meet the basic needs of everyone; when fundamental human rights are respected; and when social and political differences are resolved by democratic means. That is why the early prevention of armed conflict requires us to address the profound structural causes of crises.

We are aware that that is a task for Governments and local authorities. That principle is correct, provided that such Governments and authorities are effective, responsible and democratic. Unfortunately, in many cases we have seen Governments and political leaders fuelling social tensions and inciting armed conflict.

Poverty, underdevelopment, ethnic differences, health problems, gender discrimination and lack of educational opportunities do not in themselves engender armed conflict. Those structural factors can generate violence only if there are political or military leaders prepared to incite to violence the groups that champion those causes. In this regard, the presence of leaders who are prepared to respond to such social claims or grievances by violent means, in order to satisfy their selfish, political and economic ambitions, is the true cause of, and indispensable condition for, social violence and armed conflict.

It is precisely in that context that the Security Council should play a key role in the prevention of conflict. The Council should use all its diplomatic, legal and political resources to support and demand good governance, the rule of law, democracy, representative government and respect for human rights. The promotion of peace requires a constant and sustained effort to create a climate of mutual respect and rejection of violence and extremism.

As we consider the work of the Security Council over the past year, we should reflect upon the contribution made by each of our States to global peace during the same period. Have we supported the United Nations in deed, as well as in word? Have we provided it with the necessary material and human resources to enable it to carry out its tasks? Have we given it the essential political backing? Ultimately, the achievements of the Security Council are the achievements of the whole international community, just as its failures are the failures of all of us.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like at the outset to underscore the importance that Colombia attaches to our consideration of this agenda item, among other reasons because of our current responsibility as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. However, our regular status as a permanent member of this Assembly imposes on us an additional obligation to offer the Assembly, in plenary meeting, certain thoughts relating to the content and structure of the report now before us. We do this in the most constructive spirit possible, because we believe that this report should be accorded the proper political significance. We also do so because we take the view that, to a large extent, the contents of document A/56/2, as well as of similar texts from earlier years, reflect a distant relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

I should like first to refer to the formal aspects of the report. The first draft of the text being considered today was submitted to the members of the Council early in September this year. At the informal consultations devoted to the consideration of the document, we questioned its usefulness and content and insisted on the need to begin a debate within the Council that would make it possible to draft a report that would be useful in the General Assembly.

Unfortunately, we must state that our proposals and those of other colleagues made in this regard were

not heeded. Clearly, among some of the permanent members and, paradoxically, among several Secretariat officials, there does not seem to exist the spirit nor the willingness to modify a document submitted to us as a fait accompli. Therefore, consideration of the report in open debate was a formality that did not have the political importance that should have been accorded to this document to be submitted to the General Assembly, which, in our view, is the supreme organ of the United Nations. We noted our dissatisfaction also at that meeting.

The lack of serious and appropriate action by the Council is confirmed in Part II of the report, chapter 41, page 241 of the document before us today, where the absence of analysis and the tendency to adopt the draft report mechanically are noted. Colombia believes that the report does not reflect the fact that the Council is politically accountable to the General Assembly for its actions or failures to act. What we have before us is a simple compilation of documents, which is no different from a formal list of Council activities. In fact, most of the texts included in the report have already been issued and are familiar to all members.

The General Assembly needs an analytical, energetic, informative, innovative, simple and brief document that truly reports on the Council's activities and that naturally strengthens the relationship between both organs. The realization of this aspiration is something that all the members of the Council must work towards, with the full awareness that propitious conditions for the appropriate and visionary reform of the content and format of this report will not always exist.

We understand that attempts have been made in the past to achieve this. We understand that it is a document that has been submitted by consensus among all members of the Council. We know that there will be political difficulties in agreeing on an analytical text of the activities of this organ, responsible for monitoring international peace and security.

Nevertheless, we must state categorically that these reports do not have an aggregate worth, nor do they contribute substantive elements to permit the Members of the United Nations to carry out a proper evaluation of how the Council's responsibilities were fulfilled in the corresponding period.

I wish to raise briefly a substantive item relative to the report we are considering today.

To highlight the relationship between this report and the Council's efficiency, we wish to refer briefly to the transcendental decisions that have been made during recent weeks, which have affected all the members of the United Nations. We refer particularly to Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) on international terrorism, and to its possible implications for the relations between the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Unlike other Council resolutions that have been adopted under Chapter VII, this resolution, which seeks to fight international terrorism, the greatest threat to international peace and security, can only be successful if it enjoys the agreement and the cooperation of all or of a large majority of the Members of the United Nations.

The particular characteristics of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), together with the need to forge a global commitment against terrorism, should lead us to reflect, among other things, on the usefulness of a Security Council report like the one before us. We cannot act in this new structure of the international system without collective and nimble information systems that enhance the confidence of the Member States of the Organization in the Security Council. Even though the report of the Security Council is not, nor will be, the main source of information, it is one of the main elements whereby the Security Council seeks political support for its decisions in the General Assembly.

The direct relationship between these two principal organs of the United Nations — the Council and the Assembly — will always lead to exploring alternatives to introduce changes or, at least, to reflect on the questions they can ask themselves about the role that each plays. In that spirit, on behalf of the Council, we attended a meeting of the General Assembly's Open-ended Working Group on Security Council reform, held on 13 June 2001, which will be remembered as having been highly contributory and productive. In the report we submitted, we reported the claims that were made so that the Security Council could appear to be closer to, more integrated with and more in tune with the expectations and the aspirations of the entire membership of the United Nations, beginning with the 15 members of the Council.

We trust that the opinions expressed by the participants during this debate will be an important

basis for a productive discussion in the Council's working group on documentation and procedure. We hope we will have a better report that is relevant to the new demands of the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): Article 24 of the Charter stipulates that in discharging its main responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council acts on behalf of the Members of the Organization.

The Council is, therefore, supposed to submit annual reports and, if necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for consideration.

In an effort to streamline its work, the General Assembly, in resolution 51/241 of 1997, which is still entirely relevant, decided that the President would assess the debate on this item and would decide whether it was necessary to consider the report of the Security Council further. The General Assembly might even, following informal consultations, make a decision on any action based on the debate.

This means that the exercise that we are embarking upon today should not be regarded as a mere formality, but rather as a valuable opportunity for us all to examine in depth the work carried out by the Security Council in the past year, share our feelings about how it has been pursued and suggest possible improvements regarding the Council's working methods and its relations with the General Assembly.

It is not my intention to examine each issue the Council has reported on in depth in its voluminous report to the General Assembly, nor to make value judgements on the way it has dealt with those questions. My intention is simply to make some general comments on the way the Security Council is carrying out the important mandate entrusted to it by the Charter, on its working relationships with the other principal organs and on how its report to the Assembly is conceived and presented.

However, I would like to start by expressing my appreciation for the increasingly active and influential role the Council has assumed on the international scene in the prevention and settlement of conflicts. Judging by the number of plenary consultations and official meetings held during the periods under review, hardly a day goes by without the Security Council taking up a situation that represents or could come to represent a threat to international peace and security.

Fifty-two resolutions and 35 presidential statements have resulted from often long and arduous consultations. Their real effect on the ground is difficult to evaluate at this stage, but they show that the number of conflicts and disputes is growing year by year and that the United Nations is more than ever the framework and recourse for any action aiming to maintain international peace and security. My delegation certainly welcomes this, being so committed to the role the United Nations must play in conflict prevention and resolution.

Nevertheless, we regret that the Council, which has emphasized at every opportunity the need to protect civilian populations in areas of conflict, has been unable to rise above its differences on the question of international observers being deployed in the Palestinian territories to protect the Palestinian civilian population, which has been abandoned to the arbitrary and brutal actions of Israeli security forces.

We also regret that a number of important Council resolutions, the outcome of painstaking efforts, have remained a dead letter and have not even started to be implemented. This state of affairs encourages recalcitrant States to continue defying the will of the international community and can only damage the prestige and credibility of the Council, while also causing disappointment and frustration among States that have appealed to the Council for arbitration.

Finally, we regret that despite greater interest in Africa, the Council continues to experience difficulties in fully getting involved in the suppression of African conflicts and in acting with the required determination.

Regarding the way the Council conducts its work, I think we should welcome the progress achieved, particularly in the course of the last three years, with respect to the transparency and the information provided on matters under discussion. A number of meetings of an informative nature are now open to non-member States, which nevertheless still do not have access to substantive consultations held in closed meetings. It is during those closed meetings, in fact, that all the decisions affecting the fate of Member States are taken. It should be pointed out in this regard that although the Council's still provisional rules of procedure stipulate that it may hold closed meetings, it would seem that what should be the exception has

become the rule, since the bulk of the Council's work is carried out in the consultation room, and the Council holds plenary meetings only to ratify agreements reached behind closed doors. That said, the rather timid yet praiseworthy efforts towards the Council's greater openness will remain fragile and reversible as long as openness depends on the goodwill of the President and Council members and until it has formally been made a rule.

Similarly, it seems to me that one can envisage improvements that can only help the Council better discharge its mandate. The Council could, for example, open its informal consultations to the parties to a dispute or conflict and to other concerned and interested parties, even if their deliberations are to continue later with those parties absent, but obviously better informed of the facts.

Likewise, with respect to plenary meetings, I think it is worth remarking that the Council should not, as has become customary, limit participation in debates to Council members alone on items of possible interest to other delegations. Furthermore, it should allow not only the parties to a conflict but also other countries concerned to take the floor prior to Council members so that Council members will have all the information they need in order to speak knowledgeably.

Another comment of mine relates to requests by States or groups of States for a meeting of the Council that the Security Council has hesitated or refused to act on. My understanding of the Charter and the practice of this Organization is that the Security Council cannot sidestep requests for meetings under the pretext, for example, that one of its members deems it inopportune. Whenever such a request is made, I think it is obvious that the Council should take it up, even if it has to resort to a procedural vote. Whatever the real motivations of the countries desiring a plenary debate, it is always preferable to give the protagonists a chance to exchange views in the Council Chamber than risk seeing them resort to force on the ground.

With respect to how the Security Council's report has been designed and presented, I think that what would be of most interest to the General Assembly is not so much a complete listing of Council activities — which is extremely complete and certainly very useful — as an evaluation by the Council of the work it has accomplished, the difficulties encountered and the lacuna and limitations observed in its working methods and in its relations with the other organs of the United Nations, as well as its vision of its role and responsibilities in a world in transformation.

If in the future the Security Council could examine itself and what it has done, critically, lucidly and uncomplaisantly, and share the results of such a self-examination with the Member States of the Organization in their entirety, and if the Council finally decided to start taking into account the observations and suggestions of the General Assembly, the Council would no doubt find its role strengthened and its performance greatly improved.

I would now like to address a delicate question: the relationship of the Security Council to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly.

With regard to the relationship between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, my delegation has strongly encouraged the two bodies to strengthen their dialogue and ties, since their activities are often complementary and can — if they are not careful — interfere with each other, especially in matters of preventive diplomacy and peace-building.

The fact that the joint meeting envisaged could not be held must not discourage the two organs from continuing to seek together ways to strengthen their cooperation.

With respect to the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, it should first be pointed out that despite the more or less regular meetings between the Presidents of the two bodies, dialogue between them is far from adequate. Even worse, the Council has an increasing tendency to take up questions falling within the purview of the General Assembly, which the Assembly, in turn, tends to relinquish without resistance or reaction.

Indeed, more and more so-called thematic debates on subjects that actually fall within the purview of the General Assembly are organized within the Council and are highly publicized. However, these debates are essentially only media shows of no consequence; they generally are not followed by action, since the Security Council has neither the expertise nor the means necessary to implement the results these debates occasionally lead to.

The General Assembly is increasingly being transformed into a simple forum for deliberation. That

fact was once again demonstrated a week ago when, after the most substantial debate held on a specific question in a number of years, the Assembly could not reach a unanimous rejection of terrorism in a consensus resolution. Encouraged by this progressive self-effacement on the part of the General Assembly, the Security Council is increasing its incursions into the Assembly's sphere of action — even in the matter of diplomatic conferences — and now takes it upon itself to legislate and make decisions on matters that, by all logic, should be discussed and resolved in larger and more competent bodies. There are even situations in which, emboldened by the lack of any reaction or challenging debate, the Council has gone so far as to decide to enjoin States to implement the provisions of international conventions that have not yet come into force, thus substituting itself for the sovereign will of States.

This tendency on the part of the Council infinitely to extend its competence, while raising very serious legal and political questions and contradicting the spirit and the letter of the Charter, from which the Council draws its legitimacy, must be contained because it will ultimately prejudice multilateralism, the principle of the democratic participation of States in negotiation and decision-making on questions of general interest and, in the final analysis, the very role and effectiveness of the Council itself, which to a certain extent would be distracted from its main responsibility: the maintenance of international peace and security.

More balanced relations between the two organs are therefore necessary and desirable. This will require the Security Council to strive to respect as scrupulously as possible the mandate it has received from the Charter. It is equally important that a general agreement be reached as soon as possible on reforming the Security Council, which cannot continue indefinitely to function with its current composition and working methods. Its expansion and the strengthening of its effectiveness, particularly through the abolition of the privilege of the right of veto, are more necessary than ever and can only enhance its representativeness, legitimacy and credibility.

Above all, this will require the General Assembly, rather than undertaking a yearly summary facelift of its outward appearance on the pretext of improving its working methods, to work to recover its lost authority and its full prerogatives. This is the challenge that we have to meet together if we do not wish the General Assembly to renounce forever its Charter status as the principal organ of our Organization and if we are not to abdicate once and for all our rights as sovereign States. From this point of view, it is essential that our debate today not succumb to the fate of previous debates and that it lead to action. Resolution 51/241 provides the President of the General Assembly with the opportunity to initiate such action. It would be appropriate for him to do so.

This is the contribution that my delegation wished to make to our discussion today, inspired as always by its desire to help to improve the working methods of one of the most important organs of the United Nations and, ultimately, of the Organization as a whole.

Mr. Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran): Allow me to express my appreciation to Mr. Richard Ryan, Permanent Representative of Ireland and President of the Security Council, for introducing the report of the Council to the General Assembly. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Syrian Arab Republic and the Republics of Bulgaria, Mexico, Guinea and Cameroon on their election to the Security Council. I trust that the new non-permanent members will help enhance the openness, transparency and representativeness of the Council to the fullest extent permissible under the current structure of that main body of the United Nations.

We attach great importance to the agenda item under consideration. What we are to consider is the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly on the way it conducts its work, which constitutes the maintenance of international peace and security, on behalf of the full membership of the United Nations. The submission of an annual report, stipulated by the Charter, is the constitutional link that establishes accountability between the two main bodies of the United Nations. In other words, the annual report represents the efforts of the Council to live up to the expectations of and to be accountable for its work to the membership from which it receives its powers.

As to the content and structure of the report, the General Assembly at its fifty-first session adopted resolution 51/193 in an effort to reform the reporting procedure of the Security Council. In that resolution, the Council is encouraged to provide a substantive and analytical account of its work and, inter alia, to include information on the consultations of the whole

undertaken prior to action by the Council on issues within its mandate.

Having carefully considered the current report submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly, we note that it continues to be mainly a compilation of the documents, a recalling of activities, a restatement of facts with regard to those activities, and so on. Like previous reports which the General Assembly has received, the current 571-page report, contained in document A/56/2 covering the period from 16 June 2000 to 15 June 2001, describes only what the Security Council has done and remains largely silent about the reasons and circumstances leading to the decisions adopted.

In this report, too, the lack of sufficient information for non-members of the Security Council on informal meetings persists. The 185 consultations of the whole, totalling some 325 hours, compared with 173 formal meetings during the reporting period, demonstrate the significance of informal meetings and their role in the decision-making of the Council. Despite the importance of consultations of the whole, non-members of the Council continue to be kept in the dark on how the decisions were arrived at and on how and why the Council failed to reach a decision, except for what each delegation can figure out on its own. This is a clear example of how non-member delegations of the Council may remain uninformed or misinformed about some important aspects of the Council's work.

Likewise, the goal of making the report of the Council more analytical, which figures among those set out in resolution 51/193, is yet to be achieved. We think that, if we judge the current report by that criterion, clearly there is room for improvement.

Nonetheless, we recognize some improvements made in the content and methodology used in the elaboration of this report. It is also worth recalling that this is a process that has continued over recent years and we hope that it can continue to the end. In this respect, we may refer to some efforts made in recent years to make the Council more transparent, including the increase in the number and frequency of open debates, which we consider to be an important step forward. However, we think that there is still much room for enhancing the transparency of the work of the Council.

All in all, we are convinced that there is room for enhancing the content of the report so that it will better describe the work of the Council and so as to ensure that the report can be better utilized.

More broadly speaking, the way the Security Council has dealt over the past several decades with the situations in some volatile areas, especially in the Middle East, is a manifestation of the inadequacy and inappropriateness of its working methods. Many times in the past, the Security Council has been called upon to shoulder its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security by putting an end to the inhuman and aggressive acts of the Israeli regime. But regrettably the exercise or the threat of the exercise of the veto has frequently paralyzed the Council and has prevented it from discharging its constitutional responsibility on that crucial issue.

During the reporting period, despite the attention paid by the Security Council to the ongoing crisis in the occupied Palestinian territories, and despite several public meetings organized under the presidencies of some Council members, it is regrettable that the continued aggressive policy of the Israelis and the lack of any action by the Council did not allow any easing of the suffering of the Palestinians. Regrettably, the Council failed to fulfil its responsibility with regard to the threat posed by Israel to peace and security in the volatile Middle East region. We should recall that the exercise of the veto was the main reason for that failure. The resort to the veto last March proved to be a disservice to the volatile situation in the area. Undoubtedly, the presence of a United Nations observer force on the ground could have forestalled more violence and more bloodshed and could have saved so many precious lives.

On the other hand, I need to acknowledge the relatively great attention paid by the Security Council to the situation in Afghanistan during the reporting period. The dire humanitarian situation in Afghanistan and the threats against neighbours and beyond emanating from the disorder and lawlessness in that country figured among the Council's priorities last year. By its resolution 1333 (2000), adopted in December, the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, focused mainly on the provision of sanctuary by the Taliban to international terrorists and demanded an immediate end to such practices. The recent terrorist acts on United States territory brought to the forefront

the implications of the chaos and lawlessness in Afghanistan for the international community as a whole, and we hope that the Council will remain actively seized of the situation in that country. We acknowledge and appreciate the attention paid by the whole United Nations system to various aspects of the Afghan crisis, and we pledge to lend our active support to the efforts undertaken by various United Nations bodies and by the international community as a whole aimed at restoring peace and helping Afghans to form a broad-based and representative Government in their country.

However, the new turn of events in Afghanistan is very worrisome. Undoubtedly, many acts perpetrated by the Taliban, such as harbouring terrorists, trafficking in drugs, massacring members of the Afghan Shiite minority, murdering Iranian diplomats, et cetera, run counter to very basic international and humanitarian law. But it is also evident that the Afghan people should not be victimized because of the acts of the Taliban. The Islamic Republic of Iran is concerned over media reports from Afghanistan pointing to the increasing number of civilian causalities as a result of ongoing air strikes, and it expects countries involved in military action in that country to show restraint and not engage in activities that will jeopardize the lives of innocent people.

Last but not least, my delegation acknowledges the valuable work done by the Secretariat in compiling information and organizing it in keeping with the instructions and guidelines that the Security Council has laid down.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): The debate we had two weeks ago on the terrorism issue was clearly the single most important debate of this year's session of the General Assembly. One hundred sixty-seven countries participated. Today's debate on the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly should be the second most important debate. Unfortunately, today's participation is much more modest; at the last count, probably only 52 delegations will be participating.

Perhaps some members of the General Assembly have not fully realized how political power has shifted within the United Nations family. During the cold war, due to cross-vetoes, the Security Council was moribund. Key debates took place mainly in the General Assembly. In the post-cold-war era, power shifted dramatically to the Security Council, even though the Council also had its share of ups and downs in the 1990s. Today, we are entering a new era, where the Security Council will be playing an even more important role. The recent Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) were landmark decisions. Resolution 1373 (2001) in particular makes it obligatory for all States to impose far-reaching measures to combat terrorism, which will be monitored by the Council's counter-terrorism Committee. Thus, both constitutional and practical political requirements to ensure the successful implementation of such important resolutions underscore the need for a relationship of trust and confidence between the General Assembly and the Security Council. That should be the key goal of this debate.

The United Nations Charter confers sweeping powers upon the Security Council, making it conceivably the single most powerful body in the whole world. No other international body, not even the International Monetary Fund or the Group of 7, can make decisions that are mandatory for every Member State. What has passed unnoticed over the past decade is that the Security Council has quietly and gradually built upon and expanded powers conferred on it by the Charter. Today, within the United Nations environment, the Council occupies more political space than any other United Nations organ. The Council has also broken new ground by establishing panels of experts, monitoring mechanisms and, more important, the international Tribunals on the former Yugoslavia and on Rwanda, which cost $206 million in 2001, compared to the $10-million budget for the International Court of Justice, which is theoretically a far more important institution.

In the year 2001, the Security Council controlled peacekeeping operations that cost the United Nations community just over $3 billion, compared to the $1.27 billion spent on the regular budget. This huge disparity in annual expenditures speaks eloquently about the relative power and influence of the Security Council within the United Nations community. And, if I may be permitted an aside, it may be useful to reflect on the Nobel Peace Prize that was awarded to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations Organization. The Secretary-General fully deserved this award; he has raised the prestige of the Organization to new heights. But for the half awarded to the United Nations, which member of the family earned the Prize? Was it the

Secretariat, which has often been unfairly criticized for its bureaucratic record? Was it the General Assembly? Was it the Economic and Social Council? Or was it the Security Council? We do not know the answers to these questions, but I think they are worth posing, even as we receive the award.

Given the enormous powers of the Security Council, both in theory and in practice, it is startling that the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly is not seen by United Nations Member States as an important occasion for serious reflection. Indeed, as a current member of the Council, we were truly puzzled that this report was also adopted without any serious discussion or reflection within the Council. Despite a note by the Council President in 1997 (S/1997/451), which stated the Council's intention to make the report more analytical, we have a publication that basically reprints United Nations documents already available elsewhere. We believe the time has come for a change, and we think that the Council should consider producing a report modelled on the annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/56/1). This report is both brief and analytical. It is 45 pages long and costs $46,000 to produce, compared to the report of the Security Council, which is 571 pages long and costs about $581,000 to produce. A simple listing of the document symbols, or even a web site, could have taken care of the routine contents of the Security Council's report and, indeed, made much of it redundant. Just by doing this, the United Nations could save half a million dollars each year. Why hasn't such a simple suggestion been made or implemented? Our discomfort with both the form and content of this heavy annual report left us with no choice but to state our public reservation when the Council adopted it at its 4375th meeting on 18 September 2001. For the record, let me also add that we agree fully with the comments made earlier today by the Permanent Representative of Colombia, Ambassador Alfonso Valdivieso. We urge the Council members to heed his comments.

During last year's debate on this item, several delegations made some sharp and useful suggestions on how the Security Council report could be improved. For example, Italy noted that it was a mere catalogue of meetings, resolutions and Presidential Statements. Italy also suggested that it should be more substantial and analytical, thus allowing us to better assess the work of the Security Council in all its aspects and effects in the areas of both peace and resources. We agree with Italy and other members who made suggestions last year, and we are pleased that this year the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran has also reminded us of resolution 51/193, which also calls for a substantive analytical report. Unfortunately, none of these proposals were taken into account in drafting this year's report. We hope that this year's debate will make a difference. In our capacity as a Council member, we have therefore suggested that the Council should meet soon after today's debate, assess the comments made here today and take them into consideration when preparing future reports. We hope that this reasonable suggestion will be taken on board by the Council and that it will seriously discuss some of the questions raised this morning — for example, the excellent questions posed by the representative of Costa Rica on some of the substantive issues of the Council's work.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, let me stress one point: we would like to be constructive in this debate. We believe in the Security Council. Most institutions, like human beings, languish when they have only uncritical lovers or unloving critics. The Council needs loving critics. We have a national interest, as do most members of this General Assembly, in being such a loving critic. As a small State, we have a vested interest in a stronger, not weaker, Council. Hence, for example, in our very first month on the Council, during our January presidency, we organized a debate to strengthen cooperation between the troop-contributing countries, the Security Council and the Secretariat. As a result, the Security Council established a working group on peacekeeping operations. Eventually, resolution 1353 (2001) was adopted on 13 June, and the Council made a commitment to consider specific proposals of troop-contributing countries for a new mechanism. We suggest this as an example of how innovations can be made and how the Council can be improved.

We would therefore like to encourage General Assembly Member States to give their views to the Council, both on how the annual report should be restructured and on how this annual debate should be conducted. Frankly, all of the General Assembly debates so far have been perfunctory. But Assembly members have no one but themselves to blame for this sorry state of affairs. Behaviour like this explains the

growing weakness and irrelevance of the Assembly. We were truly puzzled to hear a German parliamentarian, Mr. Eberhard Brecht, declare in August of this year that he saw an erosion of reputation and loss of importance of the Security Council. Such a description — and we say this with some sadness — would be a truer picture of the General Assembly. Incidentally, in the same paper, Mr. Brecht made a more valid observation when he said,

> "Instead we must look for procedures that will make it more difficult for a member of the Security Council to place national interests above the preservation of world peace and international security".

To make our discussions more meaningful, we would like to suggest that this annual report be sharply condensed. It should contain three main parts: descriptive, analytical and prescriptive. Our suggested format has been outlined in the annex to our statement. As copies of my speech have been circulated, I hope Members will refer to the annex.

In part I, the descriptive part should quantify the Council's output. Some of the concrete indicators of the Council's output are provided in the annex. They should be provided in a user-friendly fashion so that major changes can be easily spotted. Let me cite one example. In 1999, there were 9,000 military troops and 2,000 civilian police serving in United Nations operations; today there are 35,000 military troops and 8,000 civilian police. This massive increase took place in the period covered by this report; but nowhere in the report do we see this increase documented or discussed. Perhaps it is time for a major international organization — intergovernmental or non-governmental — to consider establishing an external monitoring mechanism to measure and monitor the impact of Council decisions and results.

Part II should contain an analytical review. We have no illusions that this analytical part will be easy to produce. Indeed, again — referring to this morning's statement by my friend Ambassador Alfonso Valdivieso — he, too, acknowledged that analytical descriptions can be difficult. Even simple descriptions can be politically controversial. We are not naïve. However, we do believe that after the usual initial difficulties of charting a new course, the Council could provide an analytical review of its annual contributions, which, for the most part — and this is a point worth stressing — are positive and constructive. The Security Council does not have many skeletons in its closet. On the contrary, the Council has some laudable success stories to its credit, such as Namibia, Mozambique and, to some degree, Cambodia. East Timor remains a work in progress, but with continued United Nations engagement — and we hope the United Nations will remain fully engaged in East Timor even after independence — it could also turn out to be a model success story for the United Nations.

To obtain such an analytical report, it would help if the member States of the General Assembly could suggest the key questions or dimensions that such an analytical section could cover. To get this discussion going, we would like to suggest a few questions.

First, which key issues of peace and security — for example, Iraq, Kosovo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, East Timor and so on — were addressed in the year of review? What progress was made, or regress occurred, in each of these areas? Were the trends positive or negative? Secondly, which longstanding issues — for example, Cyprus, Somalia, Angola — continued to remain on the Council's agenda for a decade or more with no progress? And, if so, why? Thirdly, which Security Council instruments — peacekeeping operations, sanctions, Security Council missions, panels of experts, monitoring mechanisms — proved to be effective, and why? Fourthly, how much money was allocated to each issue and region, and what were the results? Fifthly, what key lessons were learnt in the course of the year?

The question of lessons learnt is particularly important. Since joining the Security Council, we have discovered that the Council, like any other human institution, is not perfect. It does make mistakes, as a few examples may help to illustrate. The Council spends about $200 million a year on the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), but balks at authorizing $5 million to pay for the Boundary Commission, the completion of whose work would help the early conclusion of UNMEE's mission and save hundreds of millions of dollars. The Council spends $800 million a year on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), but balks at spending $27 million for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes which would greatly assist in meeting the Mission's key objectives. These are small examples, but they clearly suggest that the Council can, and indeed should, be improved.

Incidentally, for the record, we should mention that, as a member of the Council, we have pointed out these mistakes. Unfortunately, no one has responded to our concerns.

The biggest lesson that all organizations, both in government and in business, have learnt in recent times is that it can be fatal to stagnate and stand still in rapidly changing times. The Council is clearly one of the most conservative institutions in the world. Despite appeals from several elected members, in the first 10 months of this year, only one meeting has been held of the informal Working Group of the Security Council concerning the Council's documentation and other procedural questions.

The obvious question to ask is: did this lack of meetings happen by accident or by design, and, if by design, whose design? These are the sorts of questions we should be asking. With some luck, another meeting of this difficult-to-organize group will be held next week, during the Irish presidency, to discuss, among other things, how to improve this annual report.

Reluctance to reform its working methods and procedures is a deep-seated trait within the Council, and one debate is not going to change this. Indeed, many hours have also been spent discussing cluster 2 issues in the Open-ended Working Group on Security Council reform. Unfortunately, their conclusions rarely cross over into the Security Council's own Working Group on procedures and working methods.

In conclusion, let me state that we recognize that change will not come easily. Change will be especially difficult for a body such as the Security Council, which uniquely enjoys both sweeping powers and immunity from any formal review or accountability. It is easy for it to feel invincible and invulnerable. But it may be wise for the Council to learn a lesson or two from equally mighty and powerful global organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Both have been humbled in recent years. Both have learnt the value of public accountability.

Paradoxically, the only reason why the Council has not faced calls for public accountability is because its activities are hidden within the fabric of the larger United Nations community. Article 24 of the United Nations Charter clearly states that the Security Council, in carrying out its duties, acts on behalf of the United Nations Members. In other words, the Security Council derives its power from the wider membership. Therefore, the General Assembly should not be surprised if it is one day held accountable for failing to make the Council an institution that is also accountable to the international community, in the political, if not the legal, sense.

Mr. Fonseca (Brazil): The debate on this agenda item comes at a moment of challenge for the United Nations. In the face of the tragedy of 11 September, the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, are called on to fully discharge their responsibilities. The international community is counting on effective action by the United Nations, and we trust that this call has been heard.

I thank Ambassador Richard Ryan for his presentation of the report and the Secretariat for its work in producing this document.

We recognize Ambassador Ryan's effort to make this presentation more than a mere formality. This is a hard task, though, since the raw material we have before us — the report contained in document A/56/2 — is, unfortunately, once again very disappointing.

It is frustrating to see that the report continues to be little more than a compilation of decisions and a list of documents. As a consequence, most of the comments to be made here today will be based on information delegations have collected not from the report but from other sources.

It is hard to imagine that the Security Council would agree to debate any issue on its agenda on the basis of a report similar to this one. It is not fair to expect the General Assembly to do so.

Members of the Security Council are, in fact, aware that this report does not meet the expectations of the United Nations membership. We agree with the comments made by Ambassadors Mahbubani, Valdivieso and Levitte during the discussions that preceded the adoption of the report by the Council to the effect that greater efforts should be made to prepare a more meaningful report. Let me reiterate my full agreement with the statements made by Ambassador Valdivieso and Ambassador Mahbubani, especially the excellent, precise and concrete proposals put forth by both of them. What the General Assembly is receiving is not consistent with the efforts the Council itself has been making towards making its work more transparent.

We encourage the Council to continue its efforts to overcome outdated practices and to produce a document that fulfils, in a substantive manner, the obligation contained in Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

We believe that a useful report from the Council would be one that is not only analytical but also informative. It should contain data on what the Council did during the preceding year and an analysis of how each issue was treated, what was achieved, how well the Council performed its task, how treatment of the issues can be improved, and what obstacles are impeding the implementation of the Council's decisions.

It is not the size of the report that counts. It is, rather, the quality and depth of the information provided that matters. Again, I believe that Ambassador Mahbubani's idea of a report consisting of three different chapters is perfect.

Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In this vein, we suggest that the Council consider to the provision of special reports, as foreseen in the Charter, to inform the General Assembly, at various times during the year, of its work regarding thematic issues, including specific situations. These special reports could lead to more focused debates on the work accomplished and the difficulties faced by the Security Council. The special reports would not be quarterly editions of the present type of annual report, but should rather follow a completely different approach. Consequently, the General Assembly could be convened to discuss the agenda item now under consideration more than once a year. Relations between the General Assembly and the Security Council should not be confined to a one-day debate in the middle of October. There should be more fluid and permanent interaction.

There is ample material for focused, analytical special reports by the Council dealing, for example, with its discussions and achievements with respect to the protection of civilians in armed conflicts, peace-building, children in armed conflicts, cooperation with troop-contributing countries, difficulties encountered in the implementation of sanctions regimes and, now, international terrorism.

In order to improve the content of the annual report, the Council should consider the possibility of establishing a specific working group for this task. The President of the Council should be more than a presenter of the report to the General Assembly. He or she could make, as part of his or her responsibility, an assessment of the year covered in the report.

The membership's knowledge about the work of the Council goes much beyond what the report says. The Council's good work disappears in the midst of a report that is not friendly for those willing to be educated about the essence of the Council's activity. The Security Council is so important and its decisions touch the international community so deeply and extensively that failing to report them adequately goes against the Council's interest.

The message coming from the general membership is clear. The credibility and legitimacy of the decisions taken by the Council would only be enhanced with the presentation of a meaningful and substantive report. Otherwise, in the absence of a proper account of its work, the Council runs the risk of a partial and even unfair assessment of its work on the part of the General Assembly.

The period covered by this report was a very busy one for the Council. This, unfortunately, is a sign that the international community has not been able to establish the peaceful, stable, just and prosperous society envisaged by the drafters of the Charter.

Angola remains of particular interest to Brazil, and we are pleased by the way the Council has strengthened the implementation of the sanctions against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The Security Council Committee on the situation in Angola, presided over by Ambassador Ryan, and the Monitoring Mechanism on Sanctions against UNITA, headed by Ambassador Larrain, deserve a word of recognition for their tireless work which, by depriving UNITA from their tools of war, has been saving lives in Angola.

We are also following with great interest the East Timorese road to independence. The leadership of the Secretary-General from the start and the admirable work of the head of United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Sergio Vieira de Mello, and his team are paving the way for a successful transition to statehood. We should also praise the political maturity of the people of East

Timor, as shown during the transition and in the peaceful holding of elections. To achieve stability and sustainable development, the situation in East Timor will need more efforts from the international community. We expect the Council to play an important role in catalyzing the collective will to foster East Timorese prosperity, regional inclusion and democracy.

We applaud the increasing tendency of the Security Council to be more transparent and inclusive in its procedures. Private meetings, open briefings, public debates and the practice of daily briefings by the presidency help bring the work of the Council closer to the general membership. Brazil is encouraged by the fact that the Security Council is today more sensitive to the need for intensive dialogue with troop-contributing countries. It is also a positive fact that the Council has been able to discuss the issues of sanctions and peacekeeping operations, bearing in mind the views of the Member States. Once again, my delegation welcomes the practice of public wrap-up sessions at the end of each month, and encourages Council members — and particularly the outgoing president — to use those sessions to evaluate how well the Security Council has fulfilled its role.

In order for such changes to go beyond the methods of work and affect the very heart of the Council's competence, it is necessary that Security Council members accept that transparency is a two-way street. This means being prepared to entertain an even higher degree of interaction with the general membership. By assuring a greater emphasis on transparency, and through a permanent sharing of information with the general membership, the Council will be able to assert more effectively its influence on the matters on its agenda. This is a natural product of transparency, which we sincerely hope that Council members can accept for the benefit of the Organization.

It is equally important that the general membership perceive a true sense of commitment by Council members to the mandates they establish. This sense — ultimately a sense of ownership and responsibility — materialize, for instance, in the active and actual engagement of Council members in the solution of all questions before it, as well as in the provision of material means and personnel for peacekeeping operations.

We also believe that Council missions to countries or regions are a very useful instrument, as they provide a first-hand knowledge of the realities, and help develop a better understanding of the situation, on the ground.

The Security Council and the General Assembly are both forms of expression of the will of the international community. A disconnect between what the Security Council decides and what the wider membership feels is the greatest risk this Organization runs. It is imperative that the work of the Security Council and the General Assembly converge. Through mutual reinforcement, the realization of the United Nations highest ideals is easier. To bridge the gap that sometimes appears, we should not fail to grasp every opportunity to increase interaction between the Council and Member States.

The recently established Security Council Committee on counter-terrorism is certainly one of these opportunities, as resolution 1373 (2001) clearly requires vigorous cooperation and continuous dialogue with the wider membership in order to achieve the goals we have set for the United Nations. We are therefore encouraged by the way the Committee has set out its activities under the able guidance of Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock. His briefings on the work of the Committee amply reflect the broad and new dynamics of cooperation that we must promote in the relations between the Council and Member States.

This also reinforces the case for a comprehensive reform to make the Security Council more representative, effective and legitimate. The need for Security Council reform is all the more evident in times like these, when the realities of new security threats highlight the fact that our world is different from what it was 50 years ago.

The work of the Council is also challenged by claims of selectivity, due to the lack of even-handedness in dealing with agenda items, and by episodes in which the Council was sidelined.

Despite all the hurdles, the capabilities of the Council are still intact and Brazil firmly believes in them. The Council's rapid reaction to the threats to international peace and security posed by international terrorism, which culminated with the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), proved that it is able to act decisively when it is determined, resolved and united.

We trust that this model of deliberation will be reproduced in other items on the agenda.

Accountability is essential. Only by increased accountability will members be sure that the responsibility they entrust to the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, is being fulfilled in a satisfactory manner. Thanks in part to the introduction of more transparent practices in its methods of work, the Council is today more accountable than before. Were we to take this report and its discussion in the General Assembly as a measure of transparency and accountability, however, the grades would be disappointing.

Brazil would like to invite the Security Council to dedicate time and attention to this debate not only today, but for the whole year, and to offer the General Assembly next year, through a renewed effort, an unequivocal demonstration of commitment to enhancing its accountability.

In times of challenge, the crucial role of the Security Council is even more evident for all Member States. It is at times like these that we hope the Council will emerge more united, accountable, open and responsive. In the fight against terrorism, we need a strong and wise Council able not only to represent the United Nations, but even more importantly to unite nations in a common cause. In doing so, it would be meeting the international community's expectations and strengthening the United Nations as a whole.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): My delegation wishes to thank the President of the Security Council, Mr. Richard Ryan of Ireland, for introducing the fifty-sixth annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly. We are of the view that the consideration of the Council's annual report by the Assembly is not a mere formality, but an occasion when the larger membership should be free to comment on and assess the performance of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security.

There has been a clearly expressed wish on the part of the larger membership of the Organization for a more informative and analytical report on the work of the Security Council. This has been expressed both here in the Assembly and in the Open-ended Working Group on Council reform and in the informal meeting on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly. While we welcome the improved format of the present report, we hope that future reports will be more comprehensive and analytical.

We also welcome the improved format of the monthly reports of the President of the Council. However, while they are now more substantive and informative than in the past, they are largely descriptive in nature and lack an analysis of the issues dealt with by the Council. We would suggest that the President of the Council be given greater latitude in making an analysis of the issues dealt with during his or her presidency.

We hope that the Council's informal Working Group on Documentation and Procedures will pay special attention to the concerns raised by the general membership during this debate. Indeed, it would be an extremely useful exercise if, following this debate, the President of the Council or his successor would schedule a discussion in the Council on the comments, observations and suggestions of the general membership on the report. I would therefore encourage Ambassador Mahbubani of Singapore, who made the same suggestion, to push his colleagues in the Council to consider the views of Member States articulated here with the seriousness that they deserve.

During the period under review, the Council has held many thematic debates on, inter alia, peacekeeping, security and post-conflict peace-building, and the promotion of peace and security. These debates have become a useful forum, providing an opportunity for both Council and non-Council members to address cross-cutting and complex issues relating to the overall question of peace and security. The maintenance of international peace and security requires an integrated approach; hence the need to develop comprehensive and coherent strategies involving the entire United Nations system. However, the Council must be circumspect in its approach so as not to encroach more and more onto areas that are strictly not within its purview. Also, while these thematic debates have been generally useful, it is prudent not to overdo them, so that a thematic debate is not convened purely for its own sake or to fill in the Council's programme of work for the month.

In addition to the thematic and open debates, my delegation also supports more frequent convening of the so-called private meetings of the Council in which the Council meets in closed formal sessions for an exchange of views with representatives of concerned

States and parties to a conflict. We believe that these private meetings contribute substantially to improving the decision-making process of the Council by making the Council more accessible to the concerned States and parties and by listening to their views before making a decision. However, useful as these debates are, they must not become a substitute for prompt and effective Council action.

We note that during the reporting period Council missions visited Kosovo and the Great Lakes region in Africa. My delegation welcomes the more frequent dispatch of Council missions to conflict areas. Having taken part in three such missions in the past when Malaysia was a member of the Council, we feel that the cost of sending these missions is worth it, since they enable Council members to be better informed of the situation on the ground, thereby enabling the Council to make more sound decisions on these issues. We also welcome the practice of having open meetings of the Council immediately after the completion of Council missions to consider their reports. This practice should become a permanent feature of the work of the Council as it increases further its transparency vis-à-vis the larger membership of the Organization.

My delegation also sees merit in the holding of a wrap-up session at the end of each presidency of the Council to assess the work of the Council for the month. This session, which is open to the general membership of the Organization, is a new and useful mechanism for the Council to review its performance and determine the necessary follow-up actions, as well as to provide useful insights on the work of the Council to the larger membership.

We have many times in the past stated that without the necessary reform the Council will remain an anachronistic institution that reflects the outdated realities and power equations of the immediate post-Second World War period. The continued existence of the veto has rendered the Council's decision-making process less than democratic and has contributed to much of the impasse in, and paralysis of, the Council. The problem of the veto was at the core of the Council's inaction with respect to the massacres in Bosnia, the genocide in Rwanda and the "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo. It was, and continues to be, the main reason for the inability of the Council to contribute constructively to solving the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was the threat and use of the veto that prevented the Council from taking action to address the current grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories.

On the issue of sanctions imposed by the Council, the Secretary-General himself has highlighted what he called the serious moral dilemma facing the United Nations as it struggles with this issue, juggling, on the one hand, to promote and preserve peace while, on the other, contributing to the sufferings of innocent populations through the effects of punitive sanctions imposed on their countries. As a general principle, Malaysia is opposed to the imposition of sanctions on a people, because of the debilitating effects they can have on innocent populations. We believe that sanctions are a blunt weapon that very often punish not the intended target, but the innocent populace.

However, if, as provided for in the Charter, sanctions are to be utilized as a measure of last resort when all other measures short of force have failed, they should be imposed after a careful analysis of the likely impact. This is to ensure that they have the desired effect only on the intended target or targets, not on the general population. Also, their use must be governed by a set of clear parameters, including, specific and clearly identified targets, a prescribed time frame and regular impact assessment. In this regard, the so-called smart or targeted sanctions should be the only permissible form of sanctions to be used, being more humane than comprehensive sanctions.

It is to be hoped that the Council will give careful thought to designing more effective and humane sanctions regimes. My delegation would strongly encourage the ongoing discussions in the Council aimed at finding ways and means of more effectively implementing and managing current sanctions regimes, ways and means which will serve as useful guidelines for future sanctions regimes that the Council may decide to impose on Member States in exceptional circumstances. It is regrettable that in some cases the management of sanctions by the Council has tended to be influenced by political considerations or expediency rather than principles.

In our view, the sooner the Council resolves the moral dilemma that the Secretary-General spoke of, the better it will be for its prestige and credibility. There will invariably be an inherent tension between two imperatives: morality and the need to punish errant States. We believe that it would be judicious for the Council to resolve this tension between the two

imperatives by coming down on the side of morality, as it cannot afford to be accused of condoning the deaths, destruction and sufferings of innocent populations living under sanctions.

In such situations, the humanitarian tragedy arising from sanctions could be viewed as overriding the need for a harsh sanctions regime. Such ethical and moral arguments provide a compelling justification for reviewing and drastically revamping existing sanctions regimes that have either failed to fully realize their objectives or become irrelevant in the context of the time. In this regard, my delegation commends the Council for finally lifting the sanctions on Sudan, following the failure of several attempts in the past to do so because of the threat of a veto. We look forward to the Council's moving in the same direction in respect of the sanctions on Libya and Iraq.

With regard to meetings with troop-contributing countries, my delegation welcomes the positive elements embodied in Security Council resolution 1353 (2001). Nevertheless, we regret that the resolution was not able to incorporate the views of a large number of troop-contributing countries, including the proposal relating to the participation of troop-contributing countries in all phases of peacekeeping operations, especially in connection with the concept of operations and rules of engagement. That would help to resolve differences that may exist between military doctrines and command-and-control structures among the various troop-contributing countries.

We also hope that the new, expanded format of meetings with the troop-contributing countries will be fully utilized by all concerned — Council members, troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat — and that such meetings will become more interactive in character. The meetings between the Council and troop-contributing countries should not be mere formalities.

My delegation is also pleased to note that representatives of the Security Council were able to participate at a meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on reform of the Security Council to share experiences and exchange views on the working methods of the Council over the years. We commend the Bureau of the Working Group and the President of the Council at the time for making that interaction possible. The candid and stimulating exchange of views between Council members and the Working Group proved to be extremely useful and provided both Council members and members of the Working Group with important insights into their respective work. We hope that such exchanges will lead to more informal and focused discussion in the Open-ended Working Group.

Two weeks ago, in addressing the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, my delegation commended the efforts of the Secretary-General to move the United Nations from a culture of reaction to one of prevention. We are of the view that the Council can also play a role in the area of preventive diplomacy by working closely with the Secretary-General and encouraging him to bring to the attention of the Council issues and developments that have the potential of leading to outbreaks of open conflict, so that appropriate steps can be taken to nip them in the bud. For this purpose, we would strongly encourage more frequent informal contact and interaction between the Secretary-General and Council members.

We feel that an excellent avenue for this purpose would be the holding of more frequent informal contacts and discussions between them, such as the weekend retreats involving Council members that were initiated by the Secretary-General himself about three years ago. These informal brain-storming sessions, if held more frequently, rather than just once a year, as is the current practice, would be of tremendous value to the Council and the Secretary-General in dealing with thorny issues being dealt with in the Council, including those that are potentially explosive.

The historic Council Summit, held in September last year, made a clear commitment to making the Council's work more effective and efficient. By that commitment, spelled out in resolution 1318 (2000), the Council undertook to improve its capacity to act effectively; to act preventively; and to act promptly and decisively. We look forward to the Council following up on that resolution, as spelled out in the presidential statement contained in document S/PRST/2001/10, which expressed the Council's commitment to further review progress in implementing resolution 1318 (2000), with the active participation of non-members of the Council.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the newly elected non-permanent members of the Council, who will begin

serving next year, namely, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic. We wish them every success, confident in the knowledge that they will enrich the deliberations of the Council.

Mr. van den Berg (Netherlands): The central issue under consideration today is the connection between the Security Council and the general membership. Security issues cannot any longer be dealt with effectively by just the powerful few. Rather, broad coalitions — broad in terms of geography and capabilities — are required to overcome conflict and other threats to international security. The tragic events of 11 September and their aftermath have underscored this fact. The Security Council has clearly understood the importance of engaging the entire United Nations membership effectively on an issue that, as in this case, obviously has consequences for us all. Let us therefore seize on the present momentum to look into possibilities of forging a sustained and multifaceted connection between the Council and the general membership — a connection that can be mobilized any time for any purpose within the mandate of the Council.

At the level of intergovernmental policy-making, we have to look at ways and means to improve the cooperation between the principal organs of this Organization. In doing so, we can build on what we have achieved so far in terms of promoting interaction between the Council and the general membership.

In the past year, we have seen an increasing awareness among Council members that informing and involving non-members in any way benefits the work of the Council. Thanks also to the untiring efforts of the Open-ended Working Group on the reform of the Security Council, a lot has been achieved in the way of transparency and openness with regard to the daily work of the Council. Equally, we can pride ourselves on having achieved the closer involvement of troop-contributing countries with the work of the Council. There is a clear recognition on the part of the Council that such a level of involvement is long overdue and, ultimately, that it is in the Council's own interests.

As for the issue of the troop-contributing countries, we feel that we have arrived at a critical juncture. If there is one area where there is a pressing need for the Council to connect more closely to the membership — and vice versa — it is the relationship with the troop-contributing countries; these are the countries providing the men and women who will face the consequences of the decisions of the Council. These men and women, putting their lives on the line for the cause of peace, are entitled to maximum transparency and inclusiveness in the process of preparing for and managing peace operations.

Fortunately, the Security Council has been increasingly sensitive to these concerns and is engaging itself gradually in an interactive process with troop contributors. Non-members were able to press their points of view in the open debate of the Council on 16 January this year on strengthening cooperation with troop-contributing countries, resulting in the establishment of the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations. This Group conducted its deliberations with a fair degree of openness and consultation with non-members. Security Council resolution 1353 (2001) certainly reflects this progress and is a step forward in that respect. It keeps open the option of a more far-reaching mechanism for the involvement of troop-contributing countries in the work of the Council. We expect that the present deliberations of the Security Council Working Group will lead to proposals for such a mechanism.

When it comes to connecting the general membership with the work of the Security Council, we should not limit that to ad hoc involvement with specific issues. We should also look at options for making a better connection at the institutional level. Obviously, the Charter provides for cooperation and coordination between the principal United Nations organs, but so far little effective use has been made of those provisions.

While the United Nations has made considerable progress in improving coordination of United Nations agencies, the same cannot be said about the decision-making process at the intergovernmental level: the main United Nations intergovernmental bodies do not cooperate or coordinate. There is no interaction and no integration, or at least convergence, of policies to speak of. It is clear, however, that those bodies, each from its own legitimate angle, very much cover the same issues or important aspects of those issues. Because there is no connection, the value that those bodies combined could add is far from optimal. In that sense, the entire membership is failing in its responsibility to provide the world with effective intergovernmental tools to address successfully urgent global issues.

An area where a better intergovernmental connection could be of enormous benefit is the grey zone between economic conditions and conflict and, in particular, the range of policies and activities in the context of post-conflict peace-building. It is obvious that the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council share a job here. Let us therefore heed the call to the international community made by the Secretary-General last year at the Millennium to learn how to govern better together. And let us remind ourselves of our own pledge in the Millennium Declaration to promote regular consultations and coordination among the principal organs of the United Nations. Good governance not only should be a commitment at the national level, it should be a standing practice at the intergovernmental level as well.

So far I have explained that we see a great need for a more dynamic interconnection between the Council and the general membership; we have also signalled progress made so far, and we have indicated where the challenges are. Where does the report of the Security Council fit in all this?

The report before us is quite a mixed bag of information in varying degrees of relevancy to the larger United Nations membership. It is, no doubt, a reliable record of the Council's proceedings, which were public anyway. For example, what is presented in the report as background information on specific country situations does not amount to anymore than an elaborate paraphrasing of resolutions and presidential statements that can be found in their entirety also under the appendices of the report. Otherwise, the report is no doubt an encyclopaedic masterpiece that as such, however, is not very likely to fuel a spirited debate on the Council's activities during the past year.

An obvious omission in the report is the absence of any reference to meetings of working groups established by the Council, like the one on peacekeeping — a missed opportunity since these working groups deal with issues, like peacekeeping, that are of great interest to the wider United Nations membership and certainly to United Nations troop contributors.

However, the part of the report that is truly narrative and somewhat substantive and informative is concealed in its annex. It is the part that contains the reports that Presidents of the Council publish after completion of their monthly tenures and is the closest thing to analysis that we can find in the report. It is the kind of analysis we need to have to have a useful debate on this agenda item.

In that respect, I recommend that the Security Council take inspiration from the Secretary-General's annual report. In the view of my delegation, this is a model that the Council might want to adopt in the future. In that way, Member States will feel better prepared to have an in-depth debate on the activities of the Council in the past year. This would greatly enhance the relevancy of our debate under this agenda item in the future.

Mr. de Rivero (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to express our gratitude to Ambassador Richard Ryan, Permanent Representative of Ireland and current President of the Security Council, for the introduction of the annual report of that body.

Peru receives this report in accordance with Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, which clearly acknowledges of the Security Council's responsibility to act on behalf of the members of the Organization in discharging its essential duty of maintenance of international peace and security.

Peru is convinced that a fluid, effective and regular interaction between the Security Council and all the Member States represented in the General Assembly is essential. That facilitates the consensus required for the institutional, normative, doctrinal and operational adaptation of the Organization, so that we can face together and resolutely the multiple challenges within the spheres of international peace and security and development.

The recent experience of our collective response in combating international terrorism validates this conviction. The Security Council reacted as it should have in the performance of its duties, adopting resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001). Unfortunately, the same did not occur in the General Assembly. More than 140 Member States participated in a fruitful and thorough debate. However, the General Assembly was not able to define clear guidelines to strengthen international cooperation on an issue of profound concern to the entire international community.

The Security Council has created a Committee against terrorism with the mandate of verifying the implementation of its resolution 1373 (2001). It will be

assisted for this purpose by a group of experts in the various areas required for the struggle against this scourge. I would like to announce that Peru is fully resolved to cooperate with that Committee. Since my country is one of the few that have been successful in eliminating terrorism, we believe that Peru is very capable of assisting the Security Council in carrying out such important tasks, and we are therefore evaluating the possibility of suggesting the appointment of a Peruvian expert as a member of that advisory group.

Seeking to strengthen the synergy between the Security Council and the General Assembly, we believe it necessary that the President of the General Assembly implement resolution 51/241 of 22 August 1997, on strengthening the United Nations system. That resolution states that, based on the deliberations on the report of the Security Council,

> "informal consultations shall be held, under the chairmanship of the President or one of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, to discuss action that may be required by the Assembly on the basis of the debate of the report." (*resolution 51/241, annex, para. 7*)

A clear example with respect to this suggestion regards the solution of internal conflicts involving national disintegration, which abound in various regions of the world. The handling of these internal civil conflicts must be considered from a comprehensive perspective. This perspective includes action to prevent the outbreak of civil conflict; the restoration of peace if preventive action fails; punitive action against the massive violation of human rights, once peace is restored; and finally, humanitarian aid. With these elements, the conflict can be suppressed. But after conflict, the most important thing is building a viable nation State, in other words, a politically and economically sustainable country.

It is obvious that the solution to conflicts and later nation-building of a viable nation State require the participation of the entire United Nations system, including the Bretton Woods institutions. However, for nation-building to be effective, we must go further and obtain the participation of the private sector and the commitment of private foreign investment in order to create companies with globally competitive advantages that will support the long-term economic viability of the reconstructed nation State.

With regard to the Security Council's work to combat terrorism, the creation of an ad hoc committee was a wise decision. But this committee should not only be advised by governmental experts but should also have consultations with banks, private financial companies involved in international monetary transactions, as well as non-governmental organizations that have experience in the fight to make human rights and democracy prevail.

With respect to peacekeeping operations in accordance with resolution 1353, troop-contributing countries must have early and direct participation in the definition of the terms of reference and the scope of peacekeeping and peace-building missions. This permits a significant increase in the chances of success of these missions and constitutes a coherent, practical measure. Although important progress has been made in this area, we believe there is still outstanding a need for a formal interrelational and complementary mechanism allowing for participation prior to the revision and renewal of the mandates of United Nations operations.

Peru hopes that these brief reflections and, in particular, the possible expert contribution to the Security Council committee on terrorism and the needed participation of the entire United Nations system and the private sector in the nation-building of collapsed countries and in the fight against terrorism can contribute to creating a more organic effort by the Security Council and, through that, a better management of conflicts by this Organization.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): We thank Ambassador Ryan of Ireland, in his capacity as President of the Security Council, for introducing the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly. Once again, it is clear that the task of the Security Council continues to grow in both volume and complexity. Increasingly, the challenges that continue to frustrate our quest for international peace and security point to the need for concerted international cooperation among all Member States.

As before, the report of the Council presents us with a compendium of the extensive range of issues placed before Council. In our efforts to better allocate our resources, we would like to recommend that the Council revisit its decisions regarding the format of the report and try to minimize the number of previously issued documents which are unnecessarily repeated in

the report. This report before us could have been user-friendly.

In this debate, Member States are expected to reflect on the work of the Council and provide assessments of ways in which the Council may improve its effectiveness. Therefore, the report should be designed to offer comparative information with which to analyze the performance of the Council on a particular issue. While we can understand the Council's reluctance to indulge in subjective self-evaluation, the format of the report should assist Member States to more easily extract and review the actions and the results of Council activities. Member States would then be in a position to better assist the Council through their analysis of the assimilated data provided in the report.

The events of the past month have demonstrated clearly that we need the Security Council and the General Assembly to work closely together. If we are to counter the surge of terrorism, the United Nations will have to be unified in its aims and its intentions. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that the United Nations is best suited to respond to this latest challenge.

In the past couple years, we have seen international peace and security being redefined to go beyond the scope of the traditional military conceptualizations. Indeed, some members of the Security Council have argued that threats to human society, such as HIV/AIDS and water scarcity, not only threaten individual or personal security but are also likely to trigger future international conflicts. This is yet another demonstration of the need for the United Nations organs to work together. For this reason, my delegation regrets that the Security Council and Economic and Social Council have yet to meet. The meeting of these two organs is long overdue. We are therefore convinced that an important challenge that the Council must undertake is to redefine its role in terms of the evolving global order, while remaining cognizant of its mandated role relative to the other competent organs and institutions of the United Nations.

My delegation is keenly aware that the Security Council has again devoted considerable time over the past year to addressing conflicts in Africa. While we warmly welcome the Council's attention to our continent's situation, we would like to see the same commitment to deploying resources to resolving African conflicts. The Council has made some progress in its efforts to curb the financing and arming of rebel groups in Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone. However, the situation in Burundi remains a serious challenge to the United Nations. We would urge the Security Council to remain seized of this matter and to consider timely involvement in support of the peace process.

On another matter, the Kimberley Process, which is the product of the General Assembly's determination to contribute to compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, is now making significant progress in stemming the trade in conflict diamonds. In this regard, we welcome the efforts made by the respective sanctions committees and panels and offer our continued support and cooperation. We would like to call on the sanctions committees to standardize the format of their lists on entities restricted by sanctions and to ensure that the information on the Web site is easily accessible and user-friendly. Perhaps more important is the recommendation that sanctions committees harmonize their work so that capitals are not faced with the inconvenience of receiving one sanctions committee after another seeking the same information and asking the same questions.

The African countries have launched the New African Initiative, which forms a pillar upon which our continent is resolving conflicts and contributing to global stability and security. We believe that, through development and the establishment of institutions for good governance and human rights, we will create the conditions that lead to peace and cooperation amongst member States, as well as among the diverse components within member States. Our experience is that at the centre of conflicts are the issues of underdevelopment and poverty. In other words, in addressing global peace and security, we must also focus our attention on the living conditions which many people in the developing world are forced to endure.

The Middle East remains an important issue for the Security Council and the ongoing conflict in that area impacts directly on international peace and security. We urge the Security Council to respond urgently to the need to resolve that conflict. The Council must be persuaded to reconsider the efforts made by the elected members and by some permanent members to mandate the deployment of a credible

international observer mechanism to oversee the implementation of the Mitchell report by Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

My delegation has keenly monitored the efforts of the Security Council to improve its working and decision-making methods, in particular those pertaining to cooperation with troop-contributing countries. As last year's events in Sierra Leone demonstrated, the solid relationship between the Council, the Secretariat and the troop contributors is vital to the effective management and conduct of peacekeeping operations and their ultimate success. We therefore welcomed the adoption of resolution 1353 (2001) as a step in the right direction towards improving that relationship. However, we believe that the matter should not be left at that. In our view, the relationship between the Council and troop contributors is an evolutionary one and should be subject to constant review and improvement.

We welcome the continued attempts made by the Security Council to promote transparency and interaction between the Council and relevant stakeholders. In this regard, we support the Council's efforts to gain first-hand experience of conditions on the ground by sending missions to such areas.

We are also pleased to note that the Council continues to conduct open debates and that some Council members have sought to improve the quality of the interaction between the Council and other Member States through more interactive sessions. It is through focused interactive dialogue that the Council would be better able to benefit from the views of Member States regarding its activities.

One way in which the Council might derive greater value from its debates is to have the Secretariat distribute its briefing papers before the meeting. Another useful suggestion which was made by a Council member in April this year was that, wherever possible, briefings by the Secretariat and the Secretary-General's representatives should be held in public, rather than in private meetings. Furthermore, Security Council members could pose questions to guest speakers, such as the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, on behalf of non-Council members.

The Council should seriously review the effectiveness of its actions with regard to resolving conflicts and bringing about sustainable peace. We believe that security cannot be achieved by a few in the midst of the sprawling insecurity of the masses. We have therefore argued that security must be addressed by resolving the root causes of conflict and instability. We have spoken much of the potential positive benefits of globalization, but have yet to undertake the important tasks of minimizing its potentially negative aspects.

The Council requires a critical evaluation of the effectiveness of sanctions, such as those against Iraq, which have caused untold suffering to innocent civilians. Sanctions, like other instruments at the disposal of the Security Council, cannot succeed if they do not enjoy universal support, particularly the full support of regional and other influential players. Collective action must therefore, by necessity, be taken in accordance with the stipulations of international law and be supported by the legitimate authorization of the Security Council and/or the General Assembly in order to ensure universal implementation.

The wider United Nations membership, including the elected membership of the Security Council, must assert the primary responsibility of the Security Council in determining legitimate threats to international peace and security. The Council should determine the measures to be taken under Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter to restore peace and security. Actions against threats to international peace and security cannot be undertaken unilaterally or by regional partnerships unless they have the authorization of the Security Council and are conducted in terms of international law. It is therefore critical that Council decisions receive adequate consideration and wide consultation, because their implications are so wide-ranging, especially when Chapter VII is invoked. Member States are, after all, more than mere partners whom the Security Council must co-opt; in fact, the Council represents Member States and acts on their behalf.

In conclusion, it is abundantly clear that the Security Council and, indeed, any other organ of the United Nations must join in a cooperative venture to face the challenges of this new millennium. In this regard, it is now as important as ever that high-level political consideration be given to reforming the Security Council and expanding both its permanent and non-permanent membership towards greater regional representativeness. A more representative Council will better reflect the current state of international relations.

It will be able to act with greater credibility and accountability.

We welcome the five newly elected members of the Security Council, as we also say farewell to those elected members that have represented us so admirably over the past two years. As our new colleagues on the Security Council prepare to meet the challenge of serving on the Security Council, we are once again reminded that the privilege of serving on the Council also places even greater responsibilities on members of the Council. We look forward to working closely with the Security Council as it strives to improve its response to the global need for peace and security.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank Ambassador Ryan of Ireland for his introduction of the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly (A/56/2). Our thanks go also to the other members of the Security Council, as well as to the Council secretariat for its work in preparing the report.

Despite numerous criticisms each year, the report before us today has basically the same characteristics as those of previous years. We reaffirm that such a report, in spite of its great size and high cost, falls far short of responding to our hopes and our needs. Instead of a mere compendium of documents, we want a substantive, analytical report. The report of the Security Council should reflect not only what was done, but also what could not be done and why. The report should set out the divergent opinions of Council members on particular questions.

The submission of an annual report of the Security Council is not a privilege granted to the members of the General Assembly. To the contrary, it is an obligation that is clearly stated in Articles 15 and 24 of the Charter. Member States have not only the legitimate right, but also the duty, thoroughly to evaluate the work of the Council and to determine whether the Council is truly acting on behalf of all and fulfilling, as it should, the high responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter.

In 1996, on the initiative of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the General Assembly adopted resolution 51/193, by which it encouraged the Council, in its reports to the General Assembly, to provide a substantive and analytical account of its work. Regrettably, more than five years after the adoption of that resolution, it has still not been duly taken into account, and the Assembly has not even been told why. Nor do we know why the General Assembly still does not receive the special reports that the Council should be submitting pursuant to Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

Transparent working methods and the establishment of a genuine interrelationship with the General Assembly and with Member States would not weaken the Council, but would strengthen it. In the Millennium Declaration, our heads of State or Government stressed the need to bolster the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Greater transparency in the work of the Security Council is urgently needed. In an increasingly interdependent world, the decisions taken by the Council have ever greater implications, either direct or indirect, for all Member States. Moreover, Council decisions are implemented with funding from all of us, not just from the members of the Council.

Closed informal consultations, which are not even provided for in the Council's provisional rules of procedure, continue to be the rule and not the exception — in spite of the fact that according to its own provisional rules of procedure the Council should, in the absence of a specific decision to the contrary, meet in public.

We are grateful for the sincere efforts of some elected members of the Security Council to promote greater transparency in the Council's work. We acknowledge in particular the endeavours of Colombia and of Jamaica, which currently represent the Latin American and Caribbean States on the Council, to keep our region as well informed as possible about the work of the Council. But such efforts, by themselves, are not enough.

We cannot expect positive results from the work of the Council if it continues, inter alia, to neglect the opinions of Member States — often, even those of States directly involved in the question under discussion.

Except when exceptional circumstances prevent it, briefings by members of the Secretariat or by Special Representatives of the Secretary-General should take place in public meetings, not behind closed doors.

The quality of the daily information meetings for non-members of the Council varies a great deal depending on which country holds the presidency. Some make it possible at least to get some idea of the discussions held behind closed doors, but others are, frankly, not very useful, perhaps because of the fear of some presidencies that other Council members might view them as "too transparent".

It is important that the monthly wrap-up meetings on the work of the Council should become a regular practice. We particularly hail the Colombian initiative to organize a public wrap-up meeting this year, the first of its kind. It is important not only to permit non-members of the Council to be present at such meetings, but also to make it possible for them to participate actively by posing questions and offering proposals. That would encourage a true interactive exchange, which would be useful for all.

We are concerned at the Council's increasing tendency to discuss items and to adopt texts on matters that go far beyond its assigned mandate. The Council should not assume functions that belong to the General Assembly or other United Nations organs. Rather, there should be a greater effort to secure better coordination between the Security Council and the General Assembly and other bodies. In April steps were taken towards convening a joint meeting of the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council. Unfortunately, this could not take place, owing, in our view, to the unnecessarily hasty way in which the idea was promoted by the Security Council and to attempts to establish modalities for participation that were clearly unfavourable to members of the Economic and Social Council. Looking to the future, possible joint meetings of the Security Council and other organs should be convened on the basis of balanced, mutually acceptable formulas for participation and procedure. It is striking that, notwithstanding the difficulties that exist, the Council's informal working group on documentation and other procedural questions met hardly at all during the reporting period. In fact, its meeting last June was the first in a year.

Moreover, apart from mentioning that it met 26 times during the reporting period, the annual report of the Security Council says nothing about the work of the Military Staff Committee. It is thus impossible for us to make even the most general comments on the way in which that Committee is fulfilling — or failing to fulfil — the important functions entrusted to it by the Charter, or to express any view about its possible use as a way to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security.

We are convinced that many of the problems now affecting the work of the Security Council can be resolved only by thorough reform of that organ. The Council must be reformed because, in its present form, it does not and cannot represent the interests and aspirations of the States Members of the United Nations.

The anachronistic and anti-democratic privilege of the veto must disappear. While it remains, the Security Council will be effective only in preserving the interests of its permanent members.

Council reform is unquestionably the most sensitive and pressing element of the reform of the United Nations as a whole. We shall discuss this in greater detail when the Assembly debates agenda 49. We do not mean to say that there can be no progress until such reform takes place; experience shows that, even in the current circumstances, we can and should move forward.

Although public meetings continue to have little real influence on Council decisions and although they continue to be the exception rather than the rule, their number has increased. We have also noted some recent advances with respect to interaction between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries, such as the holding of private meetings with those countries.

The practice of successive presidencies maintaining web sites on the Council's work during the month has become more widespread. Some of the sites have been particularly well organized.

Although their quality and level of detail vary, the optional monthly assessments by former Presidents of the Council are useful.

This year, in the framework of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council, there was an opportunity to convene a meeting in which some Council members participated. It would be very useful for that kind of exchange to be repeated in the future, because it promotes better understanding of the positions prevailing in the two bodies. We believe that an important practical step would be for the Council to consider in depth the opinions and proposals presented

in this debate and to take them duly into account when organizing its future work.

I wish to conclude by congratulating the delegations of Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and Syria on their recent election to serve as members of the Council. We wish them every success in their term.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): May I take this opportunity to thank member States for the confidence they have placed in Bulgaria by electing it as a non-permanent Security Council member for the term 2002-2003. Bulgaria will discharge its task with a sense of responsibility and in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and its fundamental principles.

First and foremost, I would like to address my delegation's congratulations to my friend Ambassador Richard Ryan of Ireland, who, as Council President for the month of October, gave a very clear and concise introduction to the annual report of the Security Council. Bulgaria follows closely the work of the Council and attaches great importance to this debate based on Articles 15 and 24 of the United Nations Charter, which stipulate that the Council must present to the General Assembly both annual and special reports.

Our consideration of the current report is an opportunity to carry out an exhaustive evaluation of the Council's activities during the period of 16 June 2000 to 15 June 2001. My country is convinced that this debate is an ideal opportunity not only to review the Council's activities but also to consider the ways and means of maintaining and strengthening the credibility and effectiveness of a principal organ of the Organization.

The document before us contains very complete and detailed information. It gives us a wealth of specific data. The report convincingly demonstrates the significant workload that the Council has taken up and fully demonstrates the importance of the part it plays in dealing with a number of situations threatening peace and security in the world. The report reflects the considerable efforts made by the Council in order to prevent armed conflict and to settle disputes by peaceful means as part of its main responsibility — the maintenance of international peace and security.

My delegation would like to emphasize that, during the period under review, the Council has played a positive role in preventing and resolving conflict, as well as in peace-building. The report provides many examples demonstrating the beneficial effect of what it has done. This year, as in previous years, the Security Council report gives pride of place to crises ravaging Africa, where we find, most of the conflicts on the Council's agenda. In view of the great stakes and the frequently unstable political situation of the continent, a source of concern for the entire international community, the Council has made laudable efforts to contain these conflicts. Genuine progress has been achieved on the road to peace in a number of countries, including Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Thus, the Security Council is contributing to peace and security on the African continent, which, is a prerequisite for its sustainable economic development.

It is our hope that peace and stability will become rooted in the western Balkans, a region neighbouring Bulgaria. Despite certain recent positive developments in the region, the attention paid by the Security Council to it is of no less crucial importance now than in the past. Bulgaria reaffirms its support for the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and would like to recall the importance that we attach to active participation of all electors in the elections to be held this November. Developing a culture of tolerance and multiculturalism in Kosovo is an essential condition for ensuring the well-being of all ethnic communities.

We note, however, that the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) reveals certain differences in approach within the Council. It is obvious that the United Nations Mission in Kosovo and that in East Timor are very complex and involve a form of international administration of the territories. These Missions require the participation of civil administrators, magistrates, prison wardens and border guards coming from countries of different parts of the world.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the Council has sent missions to conflict areas, such as those sent to the Great Lakes region and to Kosovo. Even if those missions have not always resulted in major breakthroughs in the settlement of conflicts, they have made it possible for Council members to get a better grasp of the situation on the ground and to better assess the nature, complexity and dynamics of the conflicts. The light that these missions shed on Council

discussions dealing with specific conflicts can only enhance its decision-making process. In our view, the Council missions have become an indispensable tool for the effective discharge of its duties.

It should be emphasized that the Security Council has begun to re-evaluate its policies on sanctions in order to improve their effectiveness while at the same time avoiding negative side effects. My delegation is preparing to consider the results of the work of the Working Group on sanctions, created in April 2000, in order to come up with relevant recommendations on these matters.

Bulgaria believes that it is essential to ensure that we reset our sights in regard to sanctions, and that this results in a clear-cut and coherent methodology with respect to imposing and lifting sanctions. Such a methodology should take into account the concerns of the civilian populations and the interests of third countries, while at the same time improving the effectiveness of sanctions.

Peacekeeping operations are becoming increasingly complex and numerous. Financial resources, mandates and political will should all converge to make each peacekeeping initiative practicable. Bulgaria welcomes the strengthening of cooperation and coordination between the United Nations Secretariat, the Council and troop-contributing countries for peacekeeping operations.

In conclusion, I would like to pay a tribute to all those who, during this debate, have expressed frankly what they really think, even their feelings of frustration, without mincing words. This approach can only enrich our discussion.

As a recently elected non-permanent Security Council member, the Republic of Bulgaria is ready to work resolutely and constructively with other delegations in order to improve the Council's working methods, particularly as regards transparency, and its effectiveness, so that it can better discharge its responsibilities.

I would like to conclude by expressing my warm congratulations to the delegations of Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and Syria on their recent election to Council membership.

Mr. Satoh (Japan): At the outset, on behalf of the Government and the people of Japan, I would like to express our heartfelt congratulations to Secretary-General Kofi Annan and all the staff of the United Nations on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. We are all uplifted and, indeed, greatly encouraged by this timely and well-deserved recognition of their dedication to world peace.

The United Nations and its respected and able Secretary-General will, however, need ever-greater support from the international community as they tackle the difficult tasks and challenges before them, now and in future. I therefore would like to reaffirm Japan's commitment to continuing to provide as much support and cooperation as possible to the United Nations and to Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

I should like to express my appreciation to the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Richard Ryan of Ireland, for his introduction of the report of the Security Council on its work from June 2000 to June 2001.

However, I would like to draw the Assembly's attention to a number of suggestions offered by my colleagues with a view to improving the content and the format of the annual report of the Council. Since I find many of these suggestions pertinent, I would like to request the Council to take them seriously so as to see major improvements in the next report.

In recent years, it has become increasingly evident that the activities and decisions of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security are encompassing an ever-wider range of areas. For example, the mandates of peacekeeping operations established by Security Council resolutions cover activities related to civil administration, development and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants (DDR).

The Council has also taken decisions in the field of the safety of civilians in armed conflict, humanitarian assistance, and HIV/AIDS. Most recently, Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) obliged Member Governments to take comprehensive anti-terrorism measures, including in the financial field.

All of this points to the fact that the Council cannot by itself cope with the challenges it faces. It needs the full cooperation of the entire international community to implement its decisions.

I thus welcome the willingness of the Council in recent years to hold frequent meetings, both public and private, at which the views of non-members can be

expressed. However, more can be done to strengthen the Council's working relations with non-members. The first aspect of this issue concerns the criteria for the participation of non-members in the discussions of the Council. Given that the criteria for holding such meetings remain unclear, we would like to request that criteria be established based on Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council.

In this context, we find it essential that countries whose interests are especially affected by a decision of the Council be given an opportunity to take part in discussions before a decision is made.

Another aspect is the question of the Council's relations with non-member countries in the context of peacekeeping operations.

In June, the Security Council adopted resolution 1353 (2001), an important decision which stipulates the Council's relations with troop-contributing countries in a comprehensive manner. While we fully support the idea of strengthening the Council's partnership with troop-contributing countries, my delegation wishes to reiterate its view that, in the implementation of resolution 1353 (2001), it is essential that not only those countries which provide military and civilian police personnel, but also those which supply civilian personnel or which make major financial contributions, be involved in order to ensure the effective functioning of a peacekeeping operation. The prospects for broadened mandates of, and increased costs for, peacekeeping operations underscore the importance of the involvement of such countries.

Before concluding, I would like to touch upon the importance of Security Council reform, although I intend to take up this matter in greater detail on another occasion.

We all know that improvements in the working methods of the Council alone will not be sufficient to enhance the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Security Council. This will require that the Council be reformed so that its composition reflects the realities of today's international community.

The increasing responsibilities of the Security Council I touched upon earlier make it more urgent than ever that we address the long-pending issue of Security Council reform.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.